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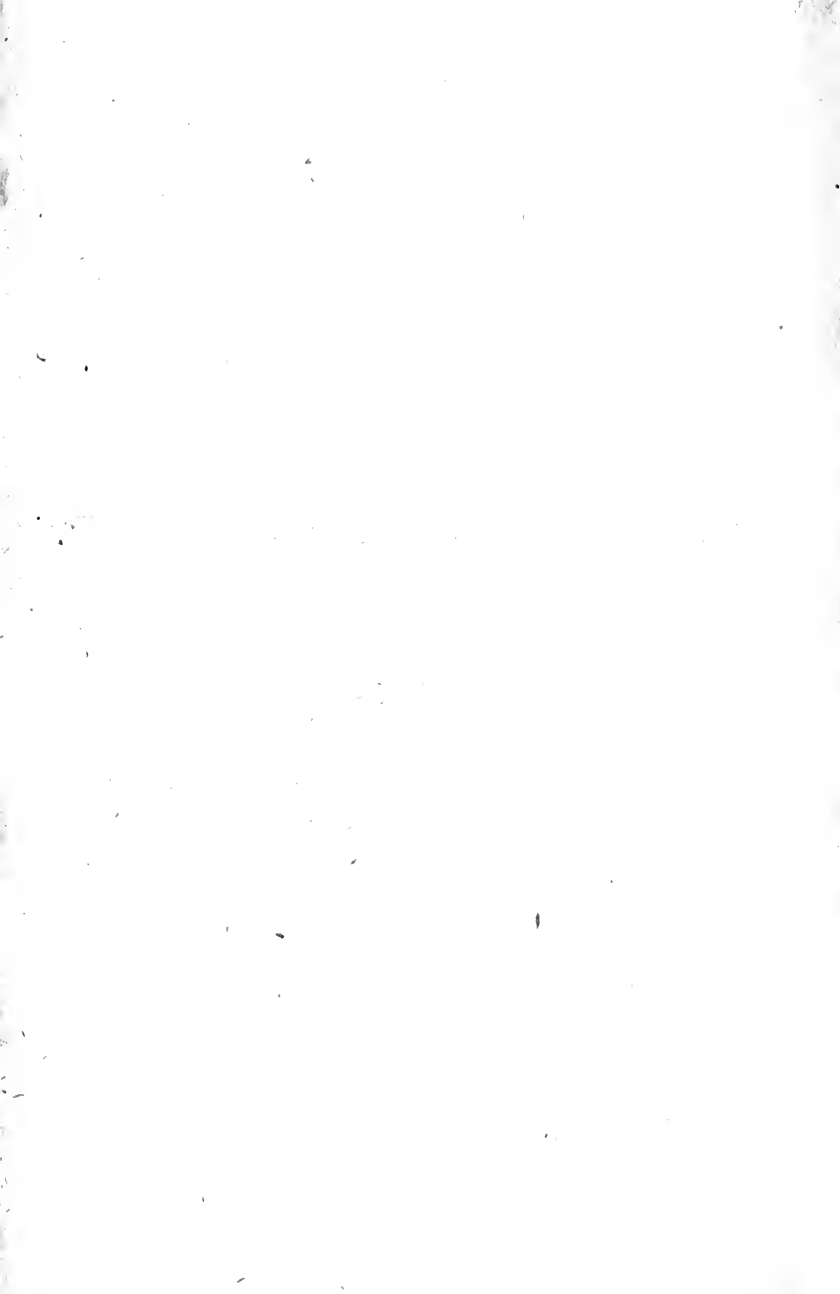
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AN
HISTORICAL
OF
EARLY OPINIONS
CONCERNING
JESUS CHRIST,
COMPILED FROM
ORIGINAL WRITERS;
PROVING THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WAS
AT FIRST UNITARIAN.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S.
AC. IMP. PETROP. R. PARIS. HOLM. TAURIN. AUREL. MED.
PARIS. CANTAB. AMERIC. ET PHILAD. SOCIUS.

VOL. III.

*Id verum quodcunque primum, id adulterum quodcunque
posterius.* TERTULLIAN.

Εἰ μὲν ἐβλαβήθη πάντες, ἐφ' ὅς το ὄνομα τὸ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἐπικεκλήσθαι, μὴδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὰ εὐαγγέλια παρεγ-
χωρεῖν, τῇ δὲ παραδόσει τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ ἀπλοῇ τῆς πίστεως
ἐξαρκεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν εἴδει λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι. BASIL.

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OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

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T H E
HISTORY OF OPINIONS
C O N C E R N I N G
C H R I S T.

B O O K III.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

AFTER the view that has been given of the rise and progress of the doctrine of the *trinity*, which sprung from the absurdity and mystery of Platonism, and terminated in a mystery still more unintelligible and absurd, in which every thing that is simple and excellent in christianity was wholly swallowed up and lost, and a polytheism little better than that

of the heathens took its place (for the worship of Christ led to that of the virgin Mary, and a thousand other persons, called *saints*) it is with peculiar satisfaction that I proceed to give an account of the doctrine of the *divine unity*, or *the History of Unitarianism*.

If I had not given what I imagine will appear to be a satisfactory account of the rise of *christian idolatry*, it might have appeared a very extraordinary and unaccountable thing ; considering that the Jews, from whom the christians sprung, were all zealous unitarians in the time of our Saviour, and that they have continued such to this day. It even appears to have been the great object of the Jewish religion, as contained in the books of Moses, to preserve in the world the knowledge and worship of the one true God, notwithstanding the universal tendency to polytheism among all nations in the early ages.

The doctrine of one great omnipresent being, the maker, and the immediate governor of all things, was too great and sublime, I do not only say, to have been *discovered*

covered by mankind, but even to be *retained* by any of them, after it was revealed, without particular provisions for that purpose. Though, I have no doubt, but that the first parents of the human race were instructed in the knowledge of the divine unity, their posterity soon adopted the notion of different gods, to whom they imagined the government of the world was delegated; and their attention to these inferior deities, on whom they thought that they more immediately depended, withdrew their attention, as it naturally would, from the supreme God, under whom they at first supposed that these lesser gods had acted. Then, being left to their own imaginations with respect to the *characters* of these gods, and having no models by which to frame them besides beings like themselves, they presently conceived them to be of very different dispositions, some of them cruel and base, and others lewd; and of course delighting in cruel, base, and lewd actions. To procure the favour, or to avert the displeasure, of these gods, they

B 2

would,

would, therefore, practice many abominable, horrid, and atrocious rites.

The religious ceremonies, and the general character and practice of the heathen world, abundantly prove, that idolatry was not a mere speculative mistake, a thing only foolish and absurd, but of a very serious and alarming nature ; and that it was therefore nothing that could be called *jealousy* in the true God, to take such extraordinary measures as the history of revelation represents him to have taken, in order to cure mankind of their proneness to idolatrous worship. It was a part which it became the supreme God, the benevolent parent of all his offspring, to take, and what a regard to their own happiness required. The mischief was of so alarming a nature, that the greatest severities were necessary, and therefore *proper*, to be employed for this purpose ; and they must know nothing of the nature and tendency of the ancient idolatry, who find any thing to censure in the severity with which the Israelites were ordered to act, with a view to the extirpation
of

of it from among themselves, or the nations inhabiting the district that was destined for them.

It is not possible to imagine any instructions, or regulations, more proper to effect the extirpation of idolatry, and to guard the people from it, than the laws of Moses, interpreted by his repeated and earnest remonstrances on the subject with respect to the Israelites. Let the reader only peruse the book of Deuteronomy, and then form his judgment. And yet, so seducing were the idolatrous customs of those times, that their whole history shews how prone the Jews always were to abandon their own purer religion, and more simple rites, though, to appearance, sufficiently splendid, and having little of austerity in them. For they had only one fast day in the whole year, and three great festivals.

But the intention of the Divine Being, was equally answered by the obedience or the disobedience of that people; and after a series of discipline, they returned from the captivity of Babylon, with *a new heart*

and a new spirit, in this respect. For they never discovered the least proneness to idolatry afterwards ; but, on the contrary, always shewed the most scrupulous dread and jealousy on this subject. Nay, to a neglect of their religion, there succeeded the most superstitious attention to the smallest punctilios relating to it.

C H A P.

C H A P T E R I.

*That the Jews in all Ages were Believers in the
Divine Unity..*

IT is impossible to read the sacred books of the Jews (with minds freed from the strongest prejudices) without perceiving that the doctrine of the *divine unity* is most rigorously inculcated in them. It is the uniform language of those books, that one God, without any assistant, either equal or subordinate to himself, made the world, and all things in it, and that this one God continues to direct all the affairs of men.

This is so evident from the bare inspection of the books, and the well known principles of the Jews in our Saviour's time, that even the christian Fathers, desirous as they were to find advocates for their doctrine of the trinity, and pressing even Platonism into the service, could not but allow it. They ransacked every part of the Old

Testament, as we have seen, for proofs, or intimations, of the doctrine of the trinity, or of the divinity of Christ; but, though they imagined they found many such, yet they always acknowledged that the doctrines were delivered so obscurely, that the bulk of the Jewish nation had not perceived them.

They thought, indeed, that Moses himself, and the prophets, were acquainted with these doctrines; but that there were good reasons why they did not endeavour to make them intelligible to the rest of their countrymen; partly, lest it should have hindered the operation of their religion to divert them from idolatry, and partly, because the doctrines were too sublime to be communicated at so early a period, and before men's minds were properly prepared for them.

SECTION I.

The Fact acknowledged by the Christian Fathers.

AS these concessions are of considerable consequence to my argument, I shall produce a number of them, from the earliest christian writers to a pretty late period, to shew that it was the uniform persuasion of all those who were the greatest friends to the doctrine of the trinity.

I shall begin with Justin Martyr, the first who advanced the doctrine of the personification of the logos. What the Jews thought of their Messiah in his time, appears very clearly from a passage in his dialogue with Trypho, which will be produced hereafter. In the mean time, I shall give his opinion with respect to the doctrine of the Jews in general on the subject. "The Jews," he says, "thinking it was
"the Father of all who spake to Moses,
"when it was the Son of God, who is
"also

of this œconomy as what christians only were acquainted with*.

Tertullian had the same ideas. “ I
 “ adore,” says he, “ the fulness of the
 “ scriptures,” meaning those of the Old
 Testament, “ which manifest the maker and
 “ the things made; but in the gospel I
 “ find the minister, or the person by whom
 “ it was made, and the judge, viz. the word
 “ of the maker †.” “ It is the faith of the
 “ Jews so to believe in one God, as not to
 “ acknowledge the Son, or the Spirit.—
 “ What is the difference between us and
 “ them, but this? What need is there of
 “ the gospel, which is the substance of the
 “ New Testament (saying, that *the law and*
 “ *the prophets were until John*) if from that
 “ period the Father, Son, and Spirit, being
 “ three, are not believed to make one God.

* ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΣΜΕΝ ——— ΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΤΑ ΘΕΩ ΚΑΛΑΝΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ. Ad Gentes, Opera, p. 40.

† Igitur in principio deus fecit cœlum et terram. Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem, quæ mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum rectoris invenio sermonem. Ad Herm. sect. 22. Opera, p. 241.

“ So

“ So God would renew his covenant, that,
 “ in a new manner, he should be believed
 “ in, together with the Son, and his Spirit ;
 “ that God may be known in his proper
 “ names and persons *.”

“ The Jews,” says Hippolytus, “ ho-
 “ noured the Father, but they did not give
 “ thanks ; for they knew not the Son †.”

Origen also says, “ the Jews were not
 “ acquainted with the incarnation of the
 “ only begotten Son of God ‡.”

Eusebius speaks of the christians as differing from the Hebrews, in that the latter

* *Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum deum credere, ut filium adnumerare ei nolis, et post filium spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illós, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus evangelii, quæ est substantia novi testamenti, statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Joannem, si non exinde pater et filius et spiritus, tres crediti, unum deum sistunt? Sic deus voluit novare sacramentum, ut nove unus crederetur per filium et spiritum, ut coram jam deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur, qui et retro per filium et spiritum prædicatus non intelligebatur. Ad Praxeam, sect. 30. Opera, p. 518.*

† *Ἰσδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ εἰδὼςσαν πατέρα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠνυχαρίστησαν υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν.* In Noetum, sect. 14. Opera, p. 16.

‡ Deerat enim illis in trinitate etiam de unigeniti incarnatione cognoscere. Opera, vol. 1. p. 290.

did not acknowledge the divinity of Christ*. He considered the doctrine of the divinity of Christ as peculiar to christians, and distinguishing them from Jews. “ If any “ Jew,” says he, “ be asked, whether God “ has a *logos*, he will say, certainly. Every “ Jew will say, that he has one, or more of “ them ; but if he be asked whether he has “ a *Son*, he will not acknowledge it †.”

Cyril of Jerufalem says, “ In this respect “ our doctrine is more sublime than that of “ the Jews, in that they acknowledge one “ God the Father, but do not admit that he “ is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, “ in which they contradict their own pro- “ phets, who say, in the scriptures, *The “ Lord said unto me, thou art my Son, this “ day have I begotten thee ‡.*” Cyril of

* Μητε την θεοτητα συνορωντες αυτες. Demonstratio, lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 144.

† Ει γεν τις Ισδαιων εροιστο τινα, ει λογον εχει ο θεος ; παντως παρφησει • επει κ' λογον, κ' λογος πλειεις εχειν αυτον, ομολογησειεν, αν, Ισδαιος ων, απας . ει δε κ' υιον εχει • οκ ει αν ομολογησειεν, ερωτηθεις. Contra Marcellam, lib. 1. p. 4.

‡ Ταυτη γαρ αν των Ισδαιων ανωτερα φρονεμεν . οι μεν γαρ ειναι ενα θεον πατερα καλαδεχονται τοις δογμασι— το δε κ' πατερα ειναι τα κυρια ημων Ιησu χρισtu, τειον u παραδεχονται, τοις οικειοις προφηταις

Alexandria also says, “ the Jews believed
 “ that there was a God who was before all
 “ things, and after him the creatures, but
 “ nothing intermediate between them*.”

Basil ranks the unitarians with Jews.
 “ If any one,” says he, “ suppose the Father,
 “ Son, and Holy Spirit to be one, one Being
 “ under different names, and that they are
 “ but one hypostasis, under three denomina-
 “ tions, we rank him with the Jews†.”

“ The Hebrews,” says Leontius, “ have
 “ only one hypostasis, or person, and one
 “ nature of God ; plainly admitting no tri-
 “ nity, nor saying that God is Father, Son,
 “ or Spirit, except that they call God Father,
 “ as the father of all men. They prove this
 “ one hypostasis from the words of Moses :

ἐναντία φρονούντες, οἱ φασι, ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς, κυριὸς εἶπε πρὸς μέ-
 νους μὲ εἰ σύ. ἐγὼ σήμερον γέγεννηκα σε. Cat. 7. p. 102.

* Intellexerunt enim in his quæ credita sunt, deum qui-
 dem esse ante omnia, et post illum creaturam. interme-
 dium autem aliud omnino nihil. De Trinitate, lib. 3.
 Opera, vol. 2. p. 398.

† Ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα λέγει, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα * καὶ ἐν πραγμα-
 τικῷ ἀνυμνον ὑποδείδει, καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν προσήγοριαι
 ἐκφρασμαίνην * τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι τοῦ Ἰουδαίου τάσσομεν.
 Epist. 73. vol. 3. p. 123.

“ *Hear,*

“Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one
“Lord*.”

Lastly, Theophylact says, “in the Old
“Testament God was known to the Jews
“only, but not as Father; he was after-
“wards revealed by the gospel to all the
“world with the Son†.”

This is a series of testimony, sufficiently
extensive for my purpose, as it clearly shows
what was the general opinion among christi-
ans concerning the ancient faith of the
Jews; and it is uncontradicted by any other
evidence whatever. Some writers of yester-
day have maintained, that the Jews al-
ways believed in a trinity, and that they

* Igitur Hebræi unam dicunt hypostasin (five personam)
unamque naturam dei; nullam plane trinitatem admit-
tentes, ac neque patrem, neque filium, neque spiritum
sanctum dicentes: nisi forte sic deum, inquit, adpelle-
mus patrem; ut qui omnium sit hominum pater. Unam
ex eo probant esse hypostasin dei, quia Moses dixerit:
audi Israelitica natio, dominus deus tuus, dominus unus
est. De Sectis. Bib. Pat. App. p. 1849.

† Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐγγινώσκοντο, ἀλλ’ Ἰσραὴλ τοῖς μονοῖς· καὶ εὐδὲ
τέλει, ὡς πατήρ· ὑπερονδε, διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἐξεκαλυφθῆναι τῇ οἰκουμενῇ
παστὶ, μέγα τῆς υἱοῦ. In Rom. Opera, vol. 2. p. 4.

expected that their Messiah would be the second person in that trinity; but the christian Fathers, who say just the contrary, were as much interested as any men could be, in finding that doctrine among the Jews, and they were nearer the source of information.

It was, indeed, imagined, as I have observed, that Moses and the prophets were themselves acquainted with the mystery of the trinity; but that they thought it was not a proper time to make a full discovery of that doctrine for the satisfaction of the body of the Jews. Eusebius says, that “Isaiah knew that there was a God in “God*” “The prophets,” says Chrysostom, “who foretold concerning Christ, “concealed their treasure in obscure “words†;” which implies that, in his opinion, they knew it themselves. “Adam,” says Epiphanius, “being a prophet, knew

* Ησαϊας προφητων μεγιστ σαφως οιδε θεον εν θεω ειναι. Demonstratio, lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 225.

† Ουτως η οι προφητοι χριστον κηρυξαντες τη ασαφεια των λεξεων εκρυψαν τον θησαυρον. De Sigillis, Opera, vol. 6. p. 169.

“ the Father, Son, and Spirit, and knew
 “ that the Father spake to the Son, when he
 “ said, *Let us make man* *.”

Pope Gregory likewise represents the people of the Jews as ignorant of the trinity, though the prophets might teach it †.

* Και ηδει πατερα θεον κ' υιον κ' αγιον πνευμα, προφητης γαρ ην.
 Lib. I. p. 6.

† Ipsa enim dei cognitio quæ apud illam in spiritalibus patribus fuit, nota omni Hæbræorum populo non fuit. Nam omnipotentem deum, sanctam videlicet trinitatem cum prophetæ prædicarent, populus ignorabat: solum decalogum tenebat in fide, legem trinitatis nesciens. Super Ezekiel, Hom. 16. Opera, vol. 2. p. 83. F

SECTION II.

Of the Reasons why, according to the Christian Fathers, the Doctrine of the Trinity was not discovered to the Jews.

AS the ignorance of the Jews, concerning the doctrine of the trinity, was an objection to the truth of it, which the christian Fathers, who defended it, could not be quite easy under, and they were often urged with it, as we shall see, by the unitarians ; it may be amusing to know more particularly in what manner they accounted for the fact.

That there should be a *gradual revelation* of so great a mystery as that of the trinity, the Fathers thought to be an argument of great wisdom on the divine dispensations, as they were by this means better adapted to the different states of the world.

Chrysoſtom represents Moſes as ſaying, “ that the world was made by God, and not “ by Chriſt, as accommodating himſelf to “ the ſtupidity of his hearers. Paul him- “ ſelf,” he ſays, “ was contented to teach “ the ſame doctrine at Athens. But he af- “ terwards

“terwards held a different language in the
 “epistle to the Colossians; and says, that
 “*God in Christ created all things that are in*
 “*heaven and in earth.* And John, the son
 “of Thunder, cried, saying, *All things were*
 “*made by him, and without him was not*
 “*any thing made that was made.* But not so
 “Moses; and justly, because it would not
 “have been proper to give those meat who
 “had need to be fed with milk *.”

“As Moses,” says Cyril of Alexandria,
 “was slow of speech, so the law of Moses
 “was slow to explain the reason of it, and
 “to open the theology of the holy trinity†.”

* Και μη ξηνισθης αγαπητε, ει Μωυσης ταυτην ελρεχε την οδον, εν αρχη
 κη προσομιους τοις παχυλειροις Ισδαιοις διαλεγομεν, οτε γε κη ο Παυλ, εν τη
 χαριτι, ηνικα τοσαυτη η επιδοσις γεγνε τε κηρυγμα, μελλων
 τοις εν Αθηναις διαλεγεσθαι απο των ορωμενων ποιειναι προς αυτες την
 διδασκαλιαν, ελω λεγων· ο θεος ο ποιησας τον κοσμον, κη παντα τα εν
 αυτω. Ηνικα προς Κολοσσαις επεσελλε, μηκει ταυτην ερχομενε την οδον,
 αλλ' ελεως αυτοις διαλεγομενου κη λεγον, οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα
 τα εν τοις υρανοις, κη τα επι της γης, τα ορατα κη τα αορατα, ειτε θρονοι,
 ειτε κυριότητες, ειτε αρχαι, ειτε εξουσιαι, τα παντα δι αυτον κη εις αυτον εκ-
 τισθη· κη Ιωαννης δε ο της βροντης υιος, εβου λεγων· παντα δι αυτου εγενετο,
 κη χωρις αυτου εγενετο ουδε εν. αλλ' εχ' ο Μωυσης ετως· εικτως. εδ
 γαρ ην ευλογον τοις επι γαλακτοτροφεισθαι δεομενοις στερειας μεταδεναι
 τροφης. In Gal. 1. Opera, vol. 2. p. 13.

† Sicut Moses erat tardioris linguæ, ita etiam lex Mo-
 saica est tardioris linguæ ad explicandam ejus quod est
 rationem, et aperiendam sanctæ trinitatis theologiam. Col-
 lectanea. Opera, vol. 1. p. 1036.

“Observe,” says Job the monk, “the wisdom of divine providence, that to the ancients the Father appeared superior; in the new, the Son appeared in some places to be inferior to the Father, but in many equal to him; the holy spirit in many inferior, but in some equal; that what is unequal in human apprehension, might be brought to a perfect equality*.” According to this writer therefore, the doctrine of the divinity of the spirit was not fully revealed even in the time of the apostles, but was reserved for a later period.—However, Epiphanius thought that the divinity of Christ was taught by the prophets, though not that of the Spirit. “One God,” says he, “was chiefly preached by Moses, a duality by the prophets, and a trinity by the evangelists; this being suited to a more advanced state of know-

† Και σκοπει της θεουργου προνοιας τον πανσοφον τε κ' αρρεπη ζυγον. ο πατηρ εδσκει τοις παλαι το μειζον εχειν; ο υιος δε παλιν κατ' την νεαν ενιοις μεν το ελαττον, τοις πολλοις δε το ισον· το δε αγιον πνευμα τοις πολλοις μεν το ελαττον, ολιγοις δε το ισον. ινα εν το ανιστον το απο της των ανθρωπων υποληψεας εις ισότητα επαναχθι. Phot. Bib. S. 222. p. 623.

“ledge.”

“ledge*.” He says the same thing in his Ancoratus, Sect. 73. Opera, vol. 2. p. 78.

The reason that is generally given by the Fathers why the Jews were not instructed in the doctrine of the trinity is, lest it should afford them a pretence for relapsing into polytheism; and certainly there was great danger of its operating in that manner. “The multitude of the Jews,” says Eusebius, “were in ignorance of this hidden mystery, when they were taught to believe in one God only, on account of their being frequently drawn into idolatry; they did not know that he was the Father of the only begotten Son. This mystery was reserved for the Gentile church, out of special favour to them†.”

* Θεότης δὲ μία ἐν Μωυση μαλιστα καταγγέλλεται, ὅτις δὲ ἐν Προφetais σφοδρὰ κηρύσσεται. Τριὰς δὲ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις φανερύεται, πλείον κατὰ καιρὸς καὶ γενεὰς ἀρμοζέσθαι τῷ δίκαιῳ, εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ πίσιν. H. 74. Opera, vol. 1. p. 899.

† Το δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐτύγχανε τὰ κεκρυμμένον τῆς μυστηρίου, ὅθεν θεὸν μὲν ἐδίδασκετο εἶναι εἰδέναι, διὰ τὸ τῇ πολυθεῶν πλάνῃ συνεχῶς ὑποσυρεσθαι. πατέρα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν τὸ μονογενοῦς ἠγνοεῖ· τὸτο γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο τῇ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ μυστήριον, κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαιτον χάριν αὐτῇ δεδωρημένον. Contra Marcel. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 99.

Gregory Nazianzen, therefore, representing the propriety of judaism being abolished by degrees, says, “ the Father was preached
 “ in the Old Testament, and the Son ob-
 “ scurely ; in the New, the Son clearly, and
 “ the spirit obscurely, he revealing himself
 “ more clearly to us. For it was not safe
 “ to preach the divinity of the Son clearly,
 “ while that of the Father was not under-
 “ stood, nor that of the Spirit, while that
 “ of the Son was not received, lest too great
 “ a burden should be laid upon us, or lest
 “ we should be dazzled with too much
 “ light, &c*.” And Chrysostom farther observes, that “ the precept, *Hear, O Israel,*
 “ *the Lord thy God is one Lord,* was not
 “ given till after the sin of the golden calf†;”

* Εχει γαρ ετως, εκηρυσσε φανερω; η παλαια τον πατερα, του υιου αμυδροτερον. εφανερωσεν η καινη τον υιον, υπεδειξε τε πνευματος την θεοτητα, εμπολιτευεΐαι νυν το πνευμα, λαφετεραν ημιν παρεχον την εαυτε δηλωσιν. & γαρ ην ασφαλές, μηπω της τε πατρος θεοτητος ομολογησεις, τον υιον εκδηλως κηρυττεισθαι • μηδε της τε υιου παραδεχσεις, το πνευμα το αγιον, ιν ειπω τι & τολμηροτερον επιφορβιζεσθαι. μη καδαπερ τροφη τη υπερ δυναμιν βερηθενεις, και ηλιακω φωτι παδροτερον ει προσβαλοντες τη οφν, και εις το κλια δυναμιν κινδυνευσωσι. Or. 37. Opera, p. 608, 609.

† Οτε γουν εποισαν τον μωσχοι, & το γλυπτον προσεκυνησαν, τοτε ηκουσαν • κυριος ο θεος, σε κυριος εις εστιν Scr. 24. Opera, vol. 5. p. 350.

as if it had not been the intention of providence to give them any such precept, if they had not previously shewn a disposition to abuse more perfect instruction.

Job the monk, of whose writings we have a particular account in Photius, comparing the great revolutions in the state of religion to *earthquakes*, says, “ As the first earth-
“ quake had cured the world of idolatry,
“ by contrary remedies, but concealed the
“ difference of hypostases ; so in the last
“ times, the Jewish opinion of one person
“ having gained strength in time, and by
“ the law, and having destroyed idolatry ;
“ the Son then, in a manner worthy of
“ God, and friendly to man, took flesh, and
“ revealed the mystery of the trinity by de-
“ grees.” He likewise says, “ the Saviour
“ very wisely spake lowly of himself, and
“ withheld the beams of his divinity, and
“ prepared to let it shine forth in works *.”

* Καὶ καθάπερ ὁ πρῶτος σεισμός διὰ τῶν ἐνανθίων ἰασάτο το
πολυθεὸν ἐπικυψάμενος τὰν ὑποστάσεων τὸ διαφορὸν. εἶτα
καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς, τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς δοξῆς εἰς ἐν προσωπο
νομῷ καὶ χρόνῳ κηρύσσωντος, καὶ περιελθόντος το πολυθεόν, ὁ
υἱὸς τῆς καύλα θεοπρεπῶς τε καὶ φιλανθρώπων καὶ σαρκὰ λαμ-
βάνει, καὶ τὸ τῆς τριάδος κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνακαλύπτει μυστήριον.

It was customary, as we shall see, to represent the doctrine of the trinity as something *sublime*, and of difficult apprehension; and therefore fit for persons of ripe understanding, and deep reflection; of which on that account, even the christians of the first ages were allowed to be ignorant, and the common people in general, till a much later period. It was natural, therefore, to alledge this, also, as another reason why the Jews, living in the infant age of the world, should not have this sublime and difficult lesson taught them. “The Jews,” says Eusebius, “were not taught the doctrine of the trinity, on account of their infant state*.” Basil gives the same account†. Cyril of Alexandria, says, “The

επαγεί δε τῆς, ὡς πανσοφῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῖς μὲν ρημασιν ἐταπεινολογεῖτο, καὶ τὴν τῆς θεότητος συνεσέληεν αὐγὴν, τοῖς ἐργοῖς δὲ ταύτης πρεσβέυαζεν ἀσραπτεῖν, καὶ δι’ αὐτὰν ἐδοκεῖ κηρυττεσθαι τῆς παντοκρατορικῆς δυνάμεως τὸ ἀξίωμα. Photii. Bib. sect. 222. p. 619.

* Καὶ τὰ νηπιάζοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαῶ. Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 18, p. 130.

† Ἦν γὰρ τι, ὡς εἰκεν, καὶ πρὸ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς, ὅτι μὲν διανοία ἡμῶν ἐστὶ θεωρητὴν, ἀνισορροῖον δὲ καλελείφθη, διὰ το τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις ἐστὶ καὶ νηπίοις κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀνεπιτηδεῖον. Basil, vol. 1. p. 6.

“ doctrine

“ doctrine of the trinity was taught in
 “ types only, and not clearly. For what
 “ reason? Because the light of divine
 “ vision is not easily accessible to those who
 “ are but lately called to the knowledge
 “ of the truth, and have not their minds
 “ exercised to those speculations*.”

Our Saviour said that divorces had been allowed to the Jews on account of the *hardness of their hearts*. This also is given as a reason by Eusebius, why the Jews were not taught the doctrine of the trinity†.

* Ος εν τυποις εἰς μονον, εχει δε καὶ αἰσθητως, ἐδιδασκεῖο· δια ποιαν αἰτιαν; οτι τοις ἀρεῖ κεκλημενοις εἰς ἐπιγνωσιν αληθειας καὶ ἐκ ἐνέριβη τοις ἐπ αὐτῇ θεωρημασι την διανοίαν εχουσιν, ἀπροσίλον πως εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ εἶν αληθως, το φως της θεοπῆιας. Contra Jul. lib. 1. Juliani, Opera, vol. 2. p. 19.

† Οτι προς την σκληροκαρδιαν τε Ιουδαίων λαου. Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 134.

SECTION III.

The Sentiments of the Jews, as expressed by themselves, on the Subject.

HAVING seen what the christian Fathers say in general of the ignorance of the Jews concerning the doctrine of the trinity, let us see what the Jews themselves have said on the subject, as far as we are able to collect it, either from the writings of the christian Fathers, or their own.

As the christian Fathers found the doctrine of the trinity obscurely hinted at in the Old Testament, and particularly in the account of the creation, in which God is represented as saying, *Let us make man*, we may wish to know what the Jews replied, when they were urged with this argument ; and it is remarkable, that their answer was in general the same with that of the unitarian in the *Clementines*, in reply to Simon, who had urged that very circumstance, as a proof that there were more gods than one. However, there is a variety in the answers given by the Jews to this question, but all of them sufficiently

ficiently natural, and not improper. Theodoret says, “the Jews say that when God said *let us make man*, he used the kingly style* ;” and this seems to be the most natural interpretation. But according to Tertullian, the Jews said that God addressed himself to the angels. “Did he speak to angels, when he said, *let us make man*, as the Jews say, who do not acknowledge the Son ; or, as if he himself was Father, Son, and Spirit, did he, say they, make himself more than one, and speak in the plural number †.” This also is the answer which Basil reports. “The Jews say God spake to the angels, when he said, *let us make man*,” addressing himself to an unitarian, who he said was “a Jew pretending to be a christian ‡.” Cyril of

* In Gen. xix. Opera, vol. 1. p. 15.

† Aut. numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi filium agnoscunt ; an quia ipse erat pater, filius et spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur. Ad Praxeam, sect. 12. p. 506.

‡ Απερὶ καὶ σου οὐκ ἐκ τῆς νεᾶς κατὰλογίης, οὗτον Ἰουδαϊσμον πρεσβεύων ἐν χριστιανισμῷ προσποιήσῃ. τινὶ λέγει κατ’ εἰκόνα ἠμέλῃαν. Hom. 8. Opera, vol. 1. p. 105.

Jerusalem says, that the Jews acknowledged only one God the Father *.

We may form a very good judgment of the sentiments of the Jews on this subject, from the account of a solemn conference between Gregentius, a christian bishop, and Herbanus, a learned Jew, in the presence of an Arabian prince, in the fifth century. As it is the only work of the kind that remains of so early an age, I shall quote several extracts from it, to shew how the Jews of that age felt and reasoned.

The Jew expresses his dread of idolatry in very strong terms. “ The prophet
“ Moses,” he says, “ if you read the penta-
“ teuch, pronounces a dreadful curse upon
“ the children of Israel, from God, the an-
“ gels, and saints, calling in all the ele-
“ ments under heaven, if we should ever
“ receive any other god beside the God of
“ our Fathers. Why then should you make
“ any words on the subject ; for God him-
“ self by the prophets strictly orders us,

* ΟΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΝΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΤΑΔΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ
ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ. Cat. 7. p. 102.

“ saying,

“ saying, there shall be no other god in
 “ thee, nor shalt thou worship a strange
 “ god; I am the Lord thy God, who
 “ brought thee out of the land of Egypt.
 “ What think you of this *?”

“ It is grievous to me to desert the God
 “ of the law, whom you acknowledge to
 “ be a true god, and to worship a younger
 “ god, not knowing whence he sprung†.”

“ Whence do you derive your faith in
 “ the Father, Son, and Spirit, and intro-
 “ duce three strange gods‡.” “ Where
 “ did any prophet foretel that Christ was
 “ to be *God man*, as you say||.” “ Why

* Μωυσης ο προφητης, ει την περιβαλινον ανεγνως, μεγεθη
 καταρων τεθεικεν ημιν τοις υιοις Ισραηλ, απο θεου κη των αγ-
 γελων, κη των αγιων, θεις κη παντα τα σιχεια τα υπερανον
 υπο καταραν, ει ποτε εβρον θεον υποδεξομεθα παρεξ τε
 θεου των πατερων. Τι εν λοιπον πολυπραγμανοις; κη γαρ κη
 αυτος ο θεος δια τε προφητη παρεγλυτα ημιν λεγων· εκ εσθα
 εν σοι θεος προσθαλος, υδε προσκυνησεις θεω αλλοτριω. εγω
 γαρ ειμι κυριος ο θεος σε, ο αναγαγων σε εκ της γης Αιγυπ-
 τε· τι εν δοκει σοι προς ταυτα. P. 36.

† Ουκ εν βαρυ μοι εστι καταλιπειν τον θεον τε νομω, ον κη
 συ μαρτυρεις, οτι εστι θεος αληθειας, κη προσκυνησαι θεω
 ιεωτερω, ωθεν επεισαχθεντι εκ ειδως. Ibid. p. 115.

‡ Ποθεν ενεξελαβεσθε πατερα κη υιον κη πνευμα πιστευειν,
 κη εισφερετε εις το μεσον τρεις θεους αλλοκοτους. Ibid. p. 6.

|| Και παρ ηνιξατο τις των προφητων, οτι θεος ανθρωπος εσται
 ο χριστος, ον τροπον λελαληκας. Ibid. p. 112.

“ did

“ did not God order Moses and the prophets to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but yourselves only, who have lately discovered it, as you pretend*.”

“ How do you call your Christ God, if my God has chosen him, &c. He cannot be a god, of whom you acknowledge it is said in the prophet, *I have made thee strong*. How can you call him your God and Saviour, who, as the prophet witnesses, can do nothing without my God†?”

Lastly, having quoted the words of the prophet, “ *I have heard thee in an acceptable time, I have formed thee,*” he says, “ How dare you then make him equal to him that formed him‡?”

* Τῷ Μωσῇ καὶ τοῖς προφῆταις πᾶς ἐκ ἐξεδέτο ὁ θεὸς πιστεῦν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνους ὑμῖν νέωσι τὸ ἐξευρηκόσιν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φάτε. Gregent. p. 7.

† Καὶ εἰ κτὼς ἔχει, ποῖον δὲ τρόπον τὸν χριστὸν σου θεὸν προσαγορεύεις, ἐφ’ ᾧ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἠγάπησε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς; κκεν ἐκ ἐσι θεός. ὡς λέγεις, ὅτι φασκεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ διατε προφητε, ὅτι ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶμι ὁ ἐνίσχυσας σέ. πᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀποκαλεῖς αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα σε, ὅς τις καθὼς ἡ προφητεία μαρτυρεῖ, ἀνευ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θεοῦ πράττειν τι κ δύναται; Ibid. p. 111.

‡ Πῶς ἐν σοὶ τόλμας ἴσον τῷ πλασῇ αὐτοῦ θεὸν ὀνομαζόν. Ibid. p. 151.

“ The

“ The doctrine of the trinity,” says the Rabbi Ifaac, in his *Munimen Fidei*, “ as held by learned christians, rests on the slightest evidence, and is contrary to the doctrine of the prophets, the law, and right reason, and even to the writings of the New Testament. For the divine law gives its sanction to the unity of God, and removes all plurality from him*.” This writer shews, in many places, that the doctrine of the trinity is not taught in the New Testament. See p. 397. 403. 418, &c.

The contempt which the author of a Jewish treatise, entitled, *Nizzachon Vetus*, expresses for the christian doctrine of God being confined in the womb of woman, is peculiarly strong†. As to those who said

* Accedit his, quod dogma de trinitate falsum est, et a quibusdam eruditis Nazarenorum, rebus levissimis, sine ullo vero prophetico fundamento recens superstructum, quodque legi divinæ, verbis prophetarum, humanæ rationi, dictisque plurimis scriptorum novi testamenti repugnat. Quippe lex divina comprobatur dei unitatem, omnemque pluralitatem ab eo segregat. p. 113.

† Quomodo igitur iste deus esse posset, qui foeminam plenum immunditiis ventrem habentem, ingressus est? Et quem

that Mary was not rendered unclean by the birth of Jesus, he says the contrary is evident, from the offering that she brought for her purification*.

Having seen what the christians, both unitarians and trinitarians, and also what the Jews, thought of the doctrine of the Old Testament concerning God, it may be some farther satisfaction to know in what manner the heathens decided in this case. We have the opinion of the emperor Julian on this subject, and it is decisively in favour of the Jews, and the unitarian christians. He says, “ Moses not only once, or “ twice, or three times, but many times

quem toties mater illius, novem graviditatis mensibus, eo detulit, quo fatura itabat? Quique tempore nativitatis editus est inquinatus, et sordens, involutus secundinis, et abominabilis sanguine partus ac profluvii. Nizzachon. Vetus, p. 7.

* Quod si dicat adversarius: non inquinatus fuit intra viscera ejus. Nam, cum in Maria muliebris consuetudo defecisset, intravit eam spiritus, exivitque sine dolore, et sine sanguinis sorditie. Ad hæc respondere licet: annon vos fatemini eam obtulisse sacrificium puerperarum, cujus immundities causa erat? Idem enim sacrificium offerebant leprosus, hæmorrhousa, et puerpera, par turturum, aut duos pullos columbarum. Ibid.

“ commands

“ commands to worship only one God,
 “ who, he says, is over all. He mentions
 “ no other God, but only angels, and lords,
 “ and many gods,” that is, the heathen
 gods. “ This great Being he made to be
 “ the first, but he made no second, like him,
 “ or unlike him, as you have done. If you
 “ can produce a single expression in Moses
 “ to this purpose, do it. That saying of
 “ his, *A prophet shall the Lord your God*
 “ *raise up unto you, of your brethren, like*
 “ *unto me, hear him*, is not said of the son
 “ of Mary. But if this be granted to you,
 “ he says that he shall be like to himself,
 “ and not to God, a prophet like himself,
 “ of man, and not of God*.”

* Ο τοιων Μωσῆς ἐκ ἀπαξ, ἑδὲ δις, ἑδὲ τρις, ἀλλὰ πλειστακὶς ἐνα
 θεὸν μόνον ἀξίῳ τιμᾶν, οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀνομαζεῖ, θεὸν δὲ εἰς ἑνὸν ἑδά-
 μᾳ, ἀγγέλους δὲ ὀνομαζεῖ, καὶ κυρίους, καὶ μέντοι καὶ θεὸς πλείονας. ἐξαίρετον
 καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἄλλον δὲ ἔχον υπεῖληφε δεύτερον, ὅτε ὁμοῖον, ὅτε ἀνομοῖον,
 καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἀπεξείργασθε. εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶς παρὰ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μιᾶς
 Μωσέως ῥησὶς, ταύτην ἐπεὶ δίκαιοι προφέρουν. Το γὰρ, προφήτην ὑμῖν
 ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμεῖς· αὐτὸς ἀκ-
 σήσθε· μαλιστα μὲν ἐν ἐκ εἰρήναι περὶ τῆς γεννηθῆναι ἐκ Μαρίας. εἰ δὲ
 τις ὑμῶν ἐνεκα συγχωρήσειεν, εὐαγγέλιον φησὶν αὐτὸν ὁμοῖον γεννησέσθαι, καὶ ἔ-
 τω θεῷ· προφήτην ὡς περ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ θεοῦ. Cy-
 ril Contra Jul. lib. 8. Juliani. Opera, vol. 2. p. 253.

It has been seen that Philo personified the logos as much as the christian Fathers, and that they probably learnt of him the doctrine of a divine logos being the medium of all the communications of God to the patriarchs, and of this principle occasionally assuming a visible form. But Philo had no idea that this doctrine had any connexion with that of the Messiah, as he gives no hint that this was a character to be assumed by the logos; nor does it appear that the Jews in any age had such an expectation; though this has been pretended by some modern christians.

It is unquestionable that, in our Saviour's time, the Jews expected no other than a man in the character of their Messiah. Mary, the mother of Jesus, evidently expected that the Messiah was to be born in the usual way, of two human parents. For when the angel informed her that she should *conceive and bear a son*, who should be called *the son of the highest*, and to whom God would give *the throne of his father David*, she replied, Luke i. 34. *How shall this*

this be, seeing I know not a man. Our Saviour could not possibly have puzzled the Jewish doctors as he did, by asking them how David could call the Messiah his lord, when he was his son, or descendant, on any other principle. For if they had themselves been fully persuaded that the Messiah, though descended from David, was the maker and God of David, a satisfactory answer to his question was very obvious. Origen reproaches Celsus for his ignorance, in not knowing that the Jews never believed that the Messiah would be God, or the Son of God*. Facundus very properly says, that “Martha and Mary would never have said to Christ, *if thou hadst been here*, had they thought him to be God omnipresent.” This writer also says, that the Jews always had expected, and that, in his time, they did expect, a mere man for their Messiah. “They did not know,” he says, “that Christ, the Son of God, was God; but they thought that Christ would be a mere

* Οὐκ οἶδε μεντοῦρε. οἱ ὅτι πάντες τι Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσι θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀθετοῦσθαι, ἢ θεὸν υἱόν. Con. Celsum, lib. 4. p. 162.

“man, which any one may perceive that
“the Jews at this time also think *.”

Many christians imagine, that the child called *Immanuel* by *Isaiah* (chap. vii. 8.) must be God, because the word signifies, *God with us*. But the Jews understood their scriptures, and their own ideas with respect to giving names, too well to draw any such inference from this circumstance. *Eusebius* says, that they asserted it was not even the *Messiah* that was intended by *Immanuel*, but only some common child †.

Basnage, who studied the history and opinions of the Jews more carefully, perhaps, than any other modern writer, and who has written largely on this very subject, though a trinitarian himself, has exploded all the pretences of *Cudworth*, and others, to find the doctrine of the trinity,

* Sed non propterea Christum dei filium, deum sciebant; hominem autem purum arbitrati sunt Christum.—Quod etiam nunc putantes Judæos quilibet videbit. Lib. 9. cap. iii. p. 139.

† Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα περὶ τοῦ τυγχόντος παιδὸς λεγέσθαι, ἐκ οὐδὲν ὡς συστήσαιεν οἱ ἐκ περιρρομῆς. In *Es.* cap. 9. *Montfaucon's Collectio*, vol. 2. p. 391.

either

either among the ancient or the modern Jews. “The christians and the Jews,” he says, “separate at the second step in religion. For after having adored together one God, absolutely perfect, they find immediately after the abyss of the trinity, which entirely separates them. The Jew considers three persons as three Gods, and this tritheism shocks him. The christian who believes the unity of one God, thinks that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, should all be called God, and have the same worship. It is impossible to reconcile opinions so contrary*.”

* “Les chretiens s’ecartent des Juifs des le second pas qu’ils font dans la religion. Car apres avoir adoré ensemble un dieu, souverainement parfait, ils trouvent un moment apres l’abime de la trinité, qui les separe, et les éloigne souverainement. Le Juif regarde trois personnes comme trois dieux, et ce tritheisme lui fait horreur. Le chretien, qui croit l’unité d’un Dieu, veut a meme tems q’on donne ce titre au pere, au fils, au Saint Esprit, et q’on les adore. Il est impossible de concilier des opinions si contraires ; cependant il y a des theologiens hardis, qui ont tenté de le faire.” Hist. des Juifs, lib. 4. cap. 3. sect. 1.

This writer also says, that “ the Jews
 “ consider themselves as bearing their testi-
 “ mony to the unity of God among all the
 “ nations of the world*.” How far the
 Jews of late years are from admitting the
 divinity of the Messiah, we may judge from
 what Orobio said in his controversy with
 Limborch, viz. that, admitting what is im-
 possible, that the Messiah whom they ex-
 pect should teach that doctrine, he ought
 to be stoned as a false prophet†.

It has, however, been imagined by some,
 that the Jews had a knowledge of the doc-
 trine of the trinity, that it spread from them
 among the Gentiles, and that traces of it
 may be perceived in the mysteries of hea-
 then religions. But if this be the case, it
 is obvious to ask, why are no traces of this
 doctrine to be found in the Jewish scrip-
 tures, and the Jewish worship? Or, if the

* “ Les temoins de l'unité de dieu dans toutes les na-
 “ tions du monde.” Hist. des Juifs, lib. 7. cap. 33. sect.
 15.

† Dato impossibili quod Messias, quem expectamus,
 eam doctrinam [v. g. se equalem esse deo] Israellem edo-
 ceret, jure foret, ut pseudopropheta, lapidandus. Lim-
 borch's *Amica Collatio*, p. 111.

Jews had once been in possession of this knowledge, but had lost it in the time of our Saviour, why did not he, who rectified other abuses, rectify this, the most important of them all.

If an expectation of a Messiah had been prevalent among the Gentiles, we should certainly perceive some traces of it in their writings. It might have been expected, both on account of the interesting nature, and the obscurity of the subject, that there would have been different opinions about it. that it would have been a common topic in their philosophical schools, and that their historians would have given some account of the origin of such an expectation.

The sixth eclogue of Virgil may be alleged as a proof of such an expectation. But I do not imagine that any person now thinks that Virgil himself ever expected such a personage as he describes. The use that a poet might make of a vague report of a prophecy (brought probably from the east, and ultimately from the Jewish scriptures) but seriously believed by no person

that we know of, merely to embellish a poem, is one thing; but the actual and universal expectation of such a person, is another

S E C T I O N IV.

Of the Jewish Angel METATRON, &c.

IN the third of Ben Mordecai's Letters, written by the late Rev. Mr. Taylor of Portsmouth, p. 72. I find the following extraordinary paragraph: "Among the notions of the more modern Jews, we must also observe, that the Cabbalists believed *El Shaddai* to be the same person as the angel *Metatron*, whom they supposed to be the instructor of Moses, and the Messiah, i. e. as Dr. Allix expresses it, He was, according to the christian phrase, the logos before his incarnation, or, according to the jewish phrase, the soul of the Messiah, whom they look upon as something between God and the angels, whom

“whom nothing separates from God.”
Allix, p. 456 *.

“Bishop Pearson, in proving, by several
“arguments, that Christ is called Jehovah,
“says, the Jews themselves acknowledge
“that Jehovah shall be clearly known in the
“days of the Messiah, and not only so, but
“that it is the name which doth properly
“belong to him, for the proof of which he
“quotes the book *Sepher Ikkarim*, ii. 8.
“*The scripture calleth the name of the Messias*
“*Jehovah our righteousness*, and Midrash
“Tillim, on Ps. xxi. *God calleth the Messias*

* Here Mr. Taylor inserts the following note in French, but I shall give it in English: Calmet, on the word *Metatron*, says, “The Hebrews give this name to the first of the angels, him who conducted them in the wilderness, and of whom it is said, in Moses, *I shall send my angel to go before you*. He acted towards the Israelites the part of the officer whom the Romans called *Metator*. He marked out the encampments, traced the form of them, the dimensions, extent, &c. He is thought to be the archangel Michael, who was at the head of the people in the wilderness, that it was he who wrestled with Jacob, who is called *the face of God*, in Exod. xxxiv. 14: and who is the mediator between God and man; that he writes down good actions, and keeps a register of them.”

“by

“ by his own name, and his name is *Jehovah*,
 “ as it is, Ex. xv. 3. *The Lord is a man of*
 “ war, *Jehovah is his name.* And it is writ-
 “ ten of the *Messias*, Jer. xxiii. 6. *And this*
 “ *is the name which they shall call him, Jeho-*
 “ *vah our righteousness.* Thus Echa Rab-
 “ biti, Lam. i. 6. What is the name of the
 “ *Messias*? Rabba said, *Jehovah* is his
 “ name, as it is said, Jer. xxiii. 6. The
 “ same he reports of Rabbi Levi; and the
 “ Bishop concludes, that the Rabbins then
 “ did acknowledge, that the name *Jehovah*
 “ did belong to the *Messias*.”

Consulting Dr. Allix's own work on the
 subject, I find the following reference to
 authorities for what he advances: “ See
 “ Reuchlin, L. i. De Cabala, p. 651. where
 “ he proves Metatron to be the *Messiah*
 “ from their writings; or, in short, take
 “ the confession of Manasseh Ben Israel,
 “ Q. 6. In Gen. f. 2.” The former of
 these authors I have not, and in the
 latter I find no such passage as Dr. Al-
 lix quotes. But as there is abundant
 evidence that the Jews in general, and
 in

in all ages, from the time of our Saviour to the present, considered their Messiah as a *mere man*, and a proper descendant of David, I own that I am disposed to examine, with some rigour, any pretended evidence to the contrary ; though the speculative opinions of some of the Cabbalists among them is a thing of little consequence, when they can be proved to be different from those that were entertained by the nation in general.

What Calmet says concerning the angel Metatron in Ben Mordecai's note, has no relation to the Messiah ; so that the most that I should be disposed to infer from what the Jewish Cabbalists may have said on the subject would be, that this *Metatron* was something similar to what Philo represents the *logos* as being, namely an *efflux of the divinity*, but no *being*, or *person*, permanently distinguished from him. And it is highly improbable, that any Jew should have supposed that their Messiah, a man descended from David, would have no proper human soul, besides this *Metatron*, or *logos*, supplying the place of it ; though they might suppose the

Messiah

Messiah to be distinguished by the presence and influence of this divine efflux.

The Jewish Cabbalists might easily admit even that the Messiah might be called *Jehovah*, without supposing that he was any thing more than a man, who had no existence before his birth. That it must have been the mere *name*, and not the *nature* of God, that the Jews supposed their Messiah to partake of, is all that can be admitted in the case. Several things in the scriptures are called by the name of Jehovah, as Jerusalem, in the passage above quoted, is called *Jehovah our righteousness*; but this never led the Jews to suppose, that there were two Jehovahs, a greater and a less. Nothing can be more expressly declared, than that there is but one Jehovah; and in the passages quoted by Bishop Pearson, there is no intimation of there being two Jehovahs; so that if the Messiah be Jehovah, there must have been no other Being above him, which Mr. Taylor would not suppose.

From reading the above quoted passage from Mr. Taylor, the reader would conclude, that it was the universal opinion of the

the

the Jewish Cabbalists, if not of the Jews in general, that this great angel *Metatron* was the soul of the Messiah. But this would be a mistake; for Beaufobre quotes some of them, who said, that the soul of the Messiah was the same that had been the soul of Adam, and likewise that of David. The Cabbalistic proof of this mystery, he says, is the letter A in *Adam*, meaning Adam, the D David, and the M the Messiah. *Histoire de Manichéisme*, vol. 2. p. 492. So little dependence is there on the whimsical and uncertain notions of these Jewish Cabbalists. However, when they are quoted, they ought to be quoted fairly. Mr. Taylor probably saw nothing of them, but what he found in Dr. Allix.

Basnage gives a large account of the Jewish angel *Metatron*, shewing that he is the same with the angel Michael, concerning whom the Jews had many absurd fancies. He particularly shews, that the name of God being in this angel, means nothing more than that the letters of the words *Metatron*, מטטרון, and those of *Shadai*, שדאי, considered as numerals express the same number

ber, viz. 314. lib. 4. cap. 19. vol. 3.
P. 137.

Many mistakes on this subject have been occasioned by its being taken for granted, that what is said of the *logos* may be applied to the *Messiah*, because the generality of christians have supposed them to be synonymous. But this was not the case with the Jews; and there is a passage quoted by Basnage, in his History of the Jews, L. IV. c. xxiv. f. 9. which shews, that some of their writers considered them as quite distinct from each other. “Jonathan says, that the Messiah
“and Moses will appear at the end of the
“world, the one in the desert, and the other
“at Rome, and that the *word*, or the *logos*,
“will march between them.”

Till I see much more evidence than I have yet met with (and I have not spared any pains to come at it) I cannot admit that any Jew ever supposed that their Messiah either pre-existed, or was, properly speaking, God.

With respect to all these pretences to make the Jews favourable to the doctrine of the trinity, Mr. Basnage says, “They
“cannot

“ cannot be advanced without the authors
 “ of them deceiving themselves. The
 “ Jews will never,” he says, “ be con-
 “ vinced by endeavouring to persuade them
 “ that they believe what they do not believe,
 “ and that they do not oppose the doctrine
 “ of the trinity, which is the principal ob-
 “ ject of their blasphemies.”

He mentions a Jewish writer, Jacob, the son of Amram, who laughs at the pretensions of christians to bring proofs of the trinity from the cabbala. “ The cabbalists,” says he, “ under several of the letters conceal
 “ mysteries which the vulgar cannot dis-
 “ cover, they only meant to teach the unity
 “ of God, and to explain his attributes, and
 “ they were very ignorant who looked into
 “ their writings for the trinity*.”

* Mais peut-on avancer, cela sans vouloir se tromper, puis que l'unité d'un dieu le dogme capital de Juifs, et que la pluralité des personnes fait le plus grand obstacle à leur conversion.—On ne convaincra jamais les Juifs, lors qu'on s'entêtera de leur persuader qu'ils ont cru ce qu'ils ne croient pas, et qu'ils ne s'opposent point au dogme de la trinité, qui est le principal objet de leurs blasphemes:—Jacob, fils d'Amram, dans un ouvrage manuscrit qu'il intitule la porte de la vérité, se moque des chrétiens qui tirent de la cabbale des preuves pour la trinité. Car,
 dit

How far Manassch Ben Israel was from supposing that there was any trinity in the divine nature, appears from the very section that Dr. Allix has quoted, which contains his interpretation of Gen. i. 26. And God said, *Let us make man*. After reciting a variety of interpretations, he concludes as follows, “ Or shall we say that, what seems
 “ to be of greater consequence, we gene-
 “ rally undertake with more study and de-
 “ liberation, and therefore that the scrip-
 “ ture, in describing the creation of man,
 “ makes use of the plural number, *Let us*
 “ *make*, which is the language of a person
 “ commanding and exciting himself to un-
 “ dertake and do any thing; so that God
 “ would shew that all other creatures were
 “ made for the use of man. But whether
 “ God be supposed to speak to all second
 “ causes, or to intelligencies only, or to the
 “ elements, or to souls, or to use the stile
 “ of a king, or lastly, whether he be sup-
 dit il, les cabbalistes enferment sous l’écorce de la lettre des
 mysteres que le vulgaire ne decouvre pas. Les theolo-
 giens n’ont dessein que d’enseigner, l’unité de dieu, et
 d’expliquer ses attributes; et il faut être ignorant pour
 chercher chez eux la trinité. L.7. c.31. vol. 4. p.2159. &c.
 “ posed

“ posed to excite or command himself, all
 “ ground of controversy is removed. For
 “ it does not follow, that there is any mul-
 “ tiplication of the first cause, which is
 “ most simple, and one, because the phrase,
 “ *let us make*, is used. For Moses might
 “ very safely make use of this language,
 “ since he every where most clearly teaches,
 “ that there is but one God; and, there-
 “ fore, he only will defend his error by
 “ these words, who knowingly and wil-
 “ ingly errs *.”

* Aut dicemus, plerumque id, quod majoris momenti videtur, majori quoque studio et deliberatione nos aggredi: ideoque scripturam in creatione hominis peculiari modo loqui in plurali, *faciamus*: quod verbum videtur imperantis sibi ipsi, et ad suscipiendum ac faciendum aliquid incitantis: eaque re ostendere dominus vult, omnes reliquas creaturas suo beneficio creatas. Sed si cum omnibus secundis causis loquatur deus, si cum intelligentiis tantum, si cum elementis, si cum animis, si regio more hæc dicat, seu denique incitet semetipsum, sibi imperet, conciliatione ejusmodi tota tollitur controversia. Etenim non quia *faciamus* dicitur, inde sequitur multiplicatio aliqua primæ causæ, quæ simplissima est et unica. Moses vero causam cur ita scriberet, justam habuit, quia clarissime passim docet unicum numen esse; eoque solus is, qui sciens volens errat, his verbis errorem suam defensorus est. Conciliator, p. 12.

CHAPTER II.

General Considerations relating to the supposed Conduct of Christ and the Apostles, with Respect to the Doctrines of his Pre-existence and Divinity.

THE whole nation of the Jews having been so well grounded in the great doctrine of the *divine unity*, ever since their return from the Babylonish captivity, and their attachment to it having strengthened continually, as the whole of their history shews, especially in consequence of their persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, and during their subjection to the Romans (in which their utter abhorrence of every thing that had the appearance of *idolatry*, is seen upon all occasions) and this being well-known to, and allowed by all the christian Fathers; it could not but, even in their idea, require the greatest caution and address to teach them any doctrine that could be construed into an infringement of it.

That

That the doctrine of the divinity of Christ *had* this appearance, those Fathers acknowledged ; when they supposed that Moses and the prophets could not teach it, lest it should have given the Jews a pretence for relapsing into the worship of many Gods.

They could not imagine that this difficulty would be at all removed by the christian doctrine of Jesus being the Messiah. Because it was well known to them that the Jews expected nothing more than a man for their Messiah ; and even a man born in the usual way, a proper descendant of David. Their highest expectation concerning the Messiah was, that he would be a great prince, a conqueror, and a legislator, and perhaps that he would not die. The probability is, that they imagined that the race of their kings descended from David would be revived in him, and continue to the end of time. But all this is far short of the *deification* of the Messiah, or the idea of his being a great pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world under God, and who, in the name of God, had intercourse with the patriarchs. Such notions as these do not ap-

pear ever to have entered into the head of any Jew, extravagant as their expectations were concerning the dignity and power of their Messiah.

Here then was a great dilemma in which the christian Fathers, advocates for the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, found themselves. They were under the necessity of maintaining that they were doctrines taught either by Christ or the apostles, or they must have abandoned them themselves. Doctrines of this great extent and magnitude, and so revolting to the minds of all Jews, they could not but suppose would alarm them very much ; and therefore, that it was necessary to introduce them with the greatest caution. Still, however, they must have been taught them fully and explicitly at one time or other.

Accordingly, we find, in their accounts of the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles, that they did suppose that the greatest possible caution was used, and that this cautious proceeding was continued even till after the death of most of the apostles ; so that the doctrines of the pre-existence and
I divinity

divinity of Christ were not fully discovered till the publication of the gospel of John, which was one of the last of all the books of the New Testament. But at that time they thought it to be absolutely necessary ; as otherwise there would hardly have been any besides unitarians in the church ; the knowledge of those great doctrines having, in their opinion, been confined to the apostles and the leading christians only.

A more improbable hypothesis was perhaps never formed by man, to account for any fact whatever ; and yet I do not know that the christian Fathers could have done any better. Let their successors, who are equally interested in the solution of the problem, do better if they can. But certainly they who were nearer to the times of the apostles, were in a situation to form a better judgment in this case than any persons at this day can pretend to be ; and therefore, I cannot help concluding, that they were well aware, that the supposition of this discovery having been made at an earlier period in the gospel history would have been liable to still greater objections than the

hypothesis which they did adopt. It is most probable that the state of opinions in their own time made it absolutely necessary for them to have recourse to this hypothesis, lame and wretched as it is.

The primitive Fathers were not prevented by the supposition above-mentioned, from attempting to prove the pre-existence and divinity of Christ from those books of the New Testament which were published before the gospel of John; but neither were they prevented from attempting to prove the same doctrines, as we have seen, from the books of the Old Testament, though they acknowledged that the body of the Jewish nation never learned them from those books. In like manner though they supposed that the apostles left sufficient traces of these sublime doctrines in their writings, they thought that the common christians, for whose use they were written, did not perceive them, or make the proper inferences from them. That they should not have done this will not be thought extraordinary, if we consider the extreme *caution* with which, according to the account of these

these Fathers themselves, those doctrines were taught in these books.

Such a revolution has time made in our apprehensions of things, that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ are now taught to children, as some of the first elements of christianity ; but formerly the case was very different. They were considered as most sublime and difficult doctrines, and therefore, not to be taught till after every thing else relating to the gospel had been admitted and well understood. That these doctrines were actually considered in this light, appears from a great number of passages in the writings of the Fathers, many of which I shall introduce in other parts of this work, and especially some very striking ones from Origen. But not to advance a thing of this consequence without some evidence, in a place where it will be particularly wanted, I shall produce a few passages of this kind here.

Eusebius, after demonstrating the divine mission of Christ as a prophet, introduces his discourse concerning his pre-existence and

divinity as a “mysterious and recondite doctrine*.”

Austin compares the doctrine of the humanity of Christ to milk, and the doctrine of the divinity to strong meat, fit for men†.

“The doctrine of the incarnation,” Chrysostom says, “was very difficult to be received‡;” and then describing the great condescension of the maker of all things in submitting to be carried nine months in the womb of a woman, he says, that on this account the prophets announced it very obscurely. Again, observing that it was necessary to preach the humanity before the divinity of Christ, he says, “this was the order respecting his deity

* *Καιρος ἡδὲ ἀπορρητότερον ἐφαψασθαι λόγων, τῶν περὶ τῆς καὶ αὐτὸν μυστικώτεραις θεολογίας.* Demonstratio, lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 144.

† *Ut nutritus atque roboratus perveniat ad manducandum cibum, quod est in principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum. Lac nostrum, Christus humilis est: cibus noster, idem ipse Christus æqualis patri.* In 1 John. Opera, vol. 9. p. 594.

‡ *Πολὺ δυσπαραδέσμιος ἦν ὁ τῆς σαρκώσεως λόγος.* Serm. 8. Opera, vol. 5. p. 131, 132.

“and

“ and incarnation, though it is introduced
 “ by John in a different manner from the
 “ rest, but in perfect agreement with them.
 “ But how? I say, that the doctrine not
 “ being taught at first, it was proper to
 “ dwell upon the incarnation, and to exer-
 “ cise them in the doctrine of the flesh;
 “ teaching them, from things gross and
 “ sensible; but when the doctrine was fix-
 “ ed, and the preaching received, it was
 “ then proper to ascend higher *.”

Cyril of Alexandria, explaining a passage in Isaiah, says, “ here he mixes a great and
 “ profound mystery, which required a mys-
 “ tical initiation; for so it was revealed to
 “ the divine Peter †.”

* Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ τάξις αὐτῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς θεότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, εἰ καὶ ἀπεναντίας τοῖς ἀλλοῖς γεγόνε παρὰ Ἰωάννη, ἀλλ’ ὁμῶς σφοδρὰ συμφωνῶς αὐτοῖς. καὶ πῶς; ἐγὼ λέγω· ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶδετο τε λόγος σπαρένιος, ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ τῷ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐνδιαβεῖν λόγῳ, καὶ περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς γυμναζεῖν διδασκαλίαν ἀπὸ τῶν παχυτέρων καὶ αἰσθητῶν προοιμιαζόμενες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ εἰδέναι το κήρυγμα, λοιπὸν εὐκαιρὸν ἢ ἀνωθεν ἀρχεσθαι. In Ps. 44. Opera. vol. 3. p. 223.

† Immiscet autem hic mysterium profundum et magnum, et quod superna quadam mystagogia opus habet. Revelatum est enim sic divino Petro. In Is. cap. 49. Opera, vol. 1. p. 472.

Agobard

Agobard considered what John taught concerning the divinity of Christ as being so difficult to be understood, that, in order to it, the same inspiration was necessary that he himself had*.

“Perfection,” says Œcumenious, “is the doctrine concerning the divinity of Christ, as far as the human understanding can comprehend it†.” Again, he says, “by *first elements* the apostle means the incarnation. For, as with respect to letters, so in the divine oracles, what relates to the incarnation must be learned in the first place; for these were capable of being received by unbelievers and children; but to philosophize concerning the divinity of Christ, is left to grown men. Do you see why he rests so long in these low things? It is on

* Inde qui hæc dixit accepit Johannes ille, qui discumbat super pectus domini, et de pectore domini bibe-
bat quod nobis propinaret. Sed propinavit verba. Intel-
lectum autem debes capere unde et ipse biberat qui tibi
propinavit. De Imaginibus, p. 231.

† Τελειότης δὲ ἡ ἀνωτάτω ἡ περὶ τῆς θεολογίας χρῆσις. καθόσον εἰν
ἀνθρώπῳ δύνατον, ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀληθής. In Heb. Opera, vol. 2.

p. 35.

“account

“ account of the weakness of his hearers,
 “ who were not able to receive the perfect
 “ doctrine. For which reason, having in
 “ the beginning of the epistle philosophized
 “ but a little concerning the divinity of
 “ Christ, he presently changed his dis-
 “ course, and the epistle is full of low
 “ things*.” This he gives from Photius.
 Again, after having observed that the author
 of the epistle to the Hebrews had spoken of
 the naked word of God, he says, that “ he
 “ returned to the incarnation, lest he should
 “ confound his reader with the sublimity
 “ of his doctrine†.”

We see then, that, in the opinion of these
 Fathers (and some of them who write in

* Στοιχεια αρχης, την ενανθρωπησιν λεγει . ωσπερ γαρ επι των γραμματων πρωτον τα στοιχεια μανθανομεν . εως κη επι των θειων λογικων εδει πρωτον τα περι της ενανθρωπησεως διδασκεσθαι . ταυτα γαρ ταις απιστοις ελι κη νηπιαις ακοαις χωρητα . ως το γε περι της θεολογας τε χρεια φιλοσοφειν , τελειων ην λοιπον . ορας την αιλιαν δι ην τοις ταπεινοις εμφοχωρει ; δια την των ανευλων ασθενειαν . εκ ισχυων τα τελεια δεξασθαι . δια κη παρα τας αρχας της επισολης βραχεα φιλοσοφησας περι της θεολογας τε χρεια , ευδης κατεπαυσε τον λογον . των μεντοι ταπεινων η επισολη γεμει . Ibid. p. 352.

† Ερηκως περι γυμνας τε θεα λογα , ηλθεν εις την ενανθρωπησιν , ινα μη τω υφει των ειρημεναν ιλιγγιασωσι . In Heb. cap. i. vol. 2. p. 320.

this

this manner lived pretty early, though others of them wrote in a later period) there were very mysterious and difficult doctrines to be revealed, of which no person to whom christianity was preached had the least conception, and to which it was apprehended they must be exceedingly averse. Let us now see in what manner they supposed that our Saviour and the apostles conducted themselves in this nice circumstance, and what period it was that they thought to be the most proper for making the great discovery.

To give some idea of the nature of this question, I would observe, that, if it should appear that a discovery of so great magnitude, as the Fathers represent this to have been, made no noise at all at the time fixed for the discovery, if it excited no particular attention ; neither occasioning any doubt or controversy among christians themselves, nor bringing any objection to their doctrine from their enemies, it will afford a strong reason to suppose that no such discovery was made at that particular time. The Jews, to whom the gospel was first preached, as the Fathers admitted, expected nothing

thing more than a man for their Messiah. They were fully sensible that no Jew had any idea of his having pre-existed at all, and much less of his having held any office of importance before he came into the world. When was it, then, that the Jews, to whom the gospel was preached, were taught that Christ had pre-existed, that he was the *logos* of God, the maker of the world under God, or properly God himself? Was it in our Saviour's own life-time? Was it at the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost? Or was it in a later period of the gospel history? If no traces can be perceived of any such discovery, in any period of the gospel history, an argument may be drawn from the consideration of it, highly unfavourable to the doctrine of Christ having any nature superior to that of man; and when this circumstance shall be sufficiently attended to (as I suspect it never has been yet) the Arian hypothesis must be greatly shaken, but especially that of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father.

Considerations of this kind, if they occur to him, no person, who thinks at all, can
absolutely

absolutely neglect, so as to satisfy himself with having no hypothesis on the subject. We certainly find the apostles, as well as the rest of the Jews, without any knowledge of the divinity of Christ, with whom they lived and conversed as a man; and if they ever became acquainted with it, there must have been a *time* when it was either discovered by them, or made known to them; and the effects of the acquisition, or the communication of extraordinary knowledge, are, in general, proportionably conspicuous.

Had we no written history of our Saviour's life, or of the preaching of the apostles, or only some very concise one; still so very extraordinary an article as this would hardly have been unknown, much less when the history is so full and circumstantial as it is.

Had there been any pretence for imagining, that the Jews, in our Saviour's time, had any knowledge of the doctrine of the trinity, and that they expected the second person in it in the character of their Messiah, the question I propose would have been needless. But nothing can be more evident

evident than that, whatever some may fancy with respect to more ancient times, every notion of a trinity was obliterated from the minds of the Jews in our Saviour's time: It is therefore not only a curious, but a serious and important question, When was it introduced, and by what steps? I have answered it on my hypothesis, of its being an innovation and a corruption of the christian doctrine; let others do the same, on the idea of its being an essential part of it. Let us then see, what it is that the christian Fathers, who themselves believed the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, and who were much nearer than we are to the time when the gospel was promulgated, have said on this subject.

C H A P T E R III.

Of the Conduct of our Saviour himself, with respect to his own supposed Pre-existence and Divinity.

IF we look into the gospel history, we shall find, that all that our Saviour himself taught, or insinuated, were his divine mission in general, or his being the Messiah in particular ; with the doctrine of the resurrection, and that of himself coming again to raise the dead and judge the world. These doctrines, accompanied with moral instructions, and reproofs of the Pharisees, for corrupting the law of God, made up the whole of his preaching. He never told his disciples that he had pre-existed, or that he had had any thing to do before he came into the world ; much less that he had made the world, and governed it ; and there is abundant

dant evidence that this was admitted by the christian Fathers.

Athanasius expresses his sense of the difficulty with which the Jews admitted that Christ was any thing more than a man very strongly in the following passage: “ He calls his humanity *the son of*
 “ *man*; for the Jews, always opposing God,
 “ held a twofold blasphemy with respect to
 “ Christ; for some of them being offended
 “ at his flesh, viz. the son of man, thought
 “ him to be a prophet, but not God, and
 “ called him a glutton and a wine-bibber;
 “ who were forgiven, for it was then the
 “ beginning of the preaching, and the world
 “ could not yet believe him to be God,
 “ who was made man; wherefore Christ
 “ says, Whosoever shall speak a word against
 “ the son of man, viz. his body, it shall be
 “ forgiven him. For I will venture to say,
 “ that not even the blessed disciples them-
 “ selves were fully persuaded concerning his
 “ divinity, till the holy spirit came upon them
 “ at the day of Pentecost. For when they
 “ saw him after his resurrection, some wor-

“ shipped, but others doubted, yet they
 “ were not on that account condemned *.”

The Fathers say, that whenever our Saviour said any thing that might lead his disciples to think that he was of a nature superior to that of man, they were offended, and that he conciliated their esteem whenever he represented himself as a mere man, such as they expected a prophet, and the Messiah to be. Chrysostom represents John the Baptist likewise as gaining proselytes to Christ, when he spake of him in low terms, but as deterring them when he seemed to speak of him in a higher capacity.

* Την δε ανθρωποληλια αυτου υιον ανθρωπου. νυν γαρ φησιν εδοξασθη ο υιος τε ανθρωπου. οι εν αι τω θεω προσκεκυνητες Ιουδαιοι. διττην προς χριστον την βλασφημιαν εκεκληνητο· οι μιν γαρ τη σαρκι αυτε, ηγαν τω υιω τε ανθρωπου προσκοπιοντες, προσηλθον αυτον, αλλ’ ο θεον ειναι ειομιζον, η φαγον αυτον η ουτοπουν εκαλεν, οis η συγγνωμην εδακεν· αρχη γαρ ην τε κηρυγματος, η επω εχωρει ο κοσμος θεον πιστευειν γενομενον ανθρωπον. διο φησιν ο χριστος οτι, ος αν ειπη λογον κατα τε υιου τε ανθρωπου. ηγουν τε σωματος αυτου, αφεθησεται αυτω· πολλω γαρ λεγειν οτι εδε αυτοι οι μακαριοι μαθηται το τελειον περι της αυτης θεοτητας ειχον φρονημα, εως το πνευμα το αγιον αυτοis τη περιημοση επιφοιτησεν. επει η μετα την αναστασιν ιδοντες αυτον, οι μιν προσεκυνησαν, οι δε εδισασαν· αλλ’ οκ εκ τωτε κατεκριθησαν. Sermo major de fide, in Montfaucon’s Collection, vol. 2. p. 39.

Observe,

“ Observe,” says he, “ how, when he said,
 “ He that cometh after me was before me,
 “ and I am not worthy to loose his shoe
 “ latchet; he took nobody. But when he
 “ spake of his humanity, and used a lower
 “ style, then the disciples followed him.
 “ Nor is this the only case of the kind, for
 “ the multitude were never brought to him
 “ when any thing high and lofty, as of a God,
 “ was said of him, so much as when they
 “ heard something mild and humble, and
 “ more adapted to the salvation of men *.”

Accordingly Chrysostom speaks of our Lord’s disciples as having regarded him as a man in their intercourse with him. Nathaniel, he says, “ confessed Christ as a man,
 “ when he addressed himself to him, by the
 “ title of *Son of God*. John, i. 49. as ap-
 “ pears by his adding, *thou art the king of*

* Θέα δὲ μοι κακίονο πως οτι μὲν ἐλεγεν, ο οπισω με
 ερχομεν & εμπροσθεν με γεγνε, κ̃ οτι εκ ειμι ικαν & λυσαι
 τον ιμα̃ν τε υποδηματ̃ αυτε, κ̃ ε̃να ειλεν. οτι δε περι της
 οικονομίας διελεχθη, κ̃ επι το ταπεινότερον τον λογον
 ηγαγε, τοτε ηκολαθησαν οι μαθηται. κ̃ τετο δε μονον ε̃ι
 κατιδειν, αλλ’ οτι εκ ε̃ως οι πολλοι προσαγονται οτ αν τι
 μεγα κ̃ υψιλον περι θε̃ς λεγεται, ως οτ αν χρησον κ̃ φιλαν-
 θρωπον κ̃ εις την των ακουοντων σωτηριαν ηκον. In John i.
 Hom. 17. Opera, vol. 8. p. 93.

“*Israel.*” Ibid. p. 106. He says, that when Nathaniel was introduced to Jesus, his miraculous conception was not known*. As Chrysostom has written the most largely on this subject, I shall quote from him a passage or two of some extent, that we may more clearly perceive how he, and (as he was by no means singular in his ideas) how the christian Fathers in general thought with respect to this question.

“Another reason,” he says, “why Christ
 “represented himself so much as a man, was
 “the weakness of his hearers; and because
 “they who first saw and heard him were
 “not able to receive more sublime dis-
 “courses. And that this is no mere
 “conjecture, I will endeavour to shew
 “from the scriptures themselves. If he
 “delivered any thing great, sublime, and
 “worthy of his glory; but why do I
 “say, great, sublime, and worthy of his
 “glory; if he said any thing above
 “human nature” (something is here omitted in the Greek, but supplied in the Latin version) “they were thrown into

* *Εἰ δὲ υἱὸν Ἰασηφ αὐτὸν λέγει, μὴ δορυβηδης. ἐτι γὰρ ἴτεται
 αὐτὸς ἐνομινέτο εἶναι.* In John, Hom. 18. Op. vol. 8. p. 103.

“tumult, and took offence; but if he said
 “any thing low, and becoming a man, they
 “ran to him, and received his doctrine.
 “And where do we see this? In John
 “chiefly. For when he said, *Abraham, our*
 “*father rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it,*
 “*and was glad, they say, Thou art not yet*
 “*forty years old, and hast thou seen Abra-*
 “*ham.* You see how they were affected to-
 “wards him as to a common man. What
 “then did he reply? *Before Abraham was*
 “*I am;* and they took up stones to stone
 “him. He spake more distinctly, saying,
 “*The bread which I shall give for the life of*
 “*the world is my flesh.* They said, *this is a*
 “*hard saying, who can bear it; and many of*
 “*his disciples went backward, and walked no*
 “*more with him.*

“Tell me, then, what must he do? Must
 “he always dwell upon these lofty topics,
 “so as to drive away his prey, and deter all
 “from his doctrine? But this did not be-
 “come his divine philanthropy. Again,
 “when he said, *He that beareth my words*
 “*shall never taste of death,* they said, *Do we*
 “*not say well, that thou hast a demon.—*

“ *Abraham is dead, and the prophets are dead,*
“ *and thou sayest, he that beareth my words*
“ *shall not taste of death.* And is it to be
“ wondered at that the common people
“ were thus affected towards him, when
“ their rulers had the same opinion.” He
then proceeds to instance in Nicodemus.—
“ How then must he discourse with persons
“ who would hear nothing sublime. Is it
“ to be wondered at that he said nothing
“ great or sublime concerning himself, to
“ men creeping on the ground, and so
“ meanly affected. What he said is suffi-
“ cient to shew this was the reason, and the
“ excuse for such mean discourses,

“ On the other hand, as you see men
“ scandalized, thrown into confusion, flying
“ back from him, railing at him, and de-
“ serting him, if he said any thing great
“ and lofty ; so will I endeavour to shew
“ you that they ran to him, and received
“ his doctrine, if he said any thing low
“ and mean. For the very same persons who
“ had fled from him, immediately ran to
“ him, when he said, *I can do nothing of my-*
“ *self but as the Father has taught me, so I*
“ *Speak.*

“*ſpeak.* And the evangelifts, defigning to
 “ ſhew us that they believed on account of
 “ the meannefs of his difcourſe, ſaid, *When*
 “ *he ſpake theſe things many believed on him.*
 “ You will, on many occaſions, find the
 “ ſame thing happening. On this account
 “ he ſpake in many things as a man, but
 “ ſometimes not as a man, but as became
 “ a god *.” He adds more to the ſame
 purpoſe.

* Εἰς καὶ ἑτέρα μὲν ταύτην αἰτία, ἡ ἀσθενία των ἀκροῦντων, καὶ τὸ
 μὴ δύνασθαι τοίε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἰδόντας, καὶ τοίε πρῶτον ἀκροῦντας τὰς υψι-
 λοῖτερας των δογματῶν δεξασθαι λόγους. καὶ οἱ ἐσχίστως το λεγομενον,
 ἀπ αὐτῶν σοι παρατηρησαι τὸ πειραστομαι των γραφῶν, καὶ δεῖξαι. εἰποῖς
 τί μεγα καὶ υψιλον καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δοξῆς ἀξίον ἐφθεγγέσθαι. τί λεγῶ μεγα καὶ
 υψιλον, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δοξῆς ἀξίον; εἰ ποῖς τί [ὑπερ] τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύ-
 σεως· εἶπε, πλεον ἐδορυθέντο καὶ ἐσκάνδαλίζοντο. εἰ δὲ ποῖς τί ταπεινον καὶ
 ἀνθρωπινον, προσεῖρχον, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐδεχοντο. καὶ πῶς τὸ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν
 φησί; παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μαλιστα. εἰποῖς γὰρ αὐτῇ· Ἀβραάμ ὁ πατὴρ
 ἡμῶν ἠγαλιασαῖο, ἵνα ἰδῇ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ ἰδῇ, καὶ ἐχαρῇ, λεγῶσι·
 τεσσαρακοντα εἴη ἔτι εἶχης, καὶ Ἀβραάμ εὐραϊκας; ὅρας οἱ ὡς περὶ
 ἀνδρῶν φιλὰ διέκειντο; τί ἔν αὐτός. πρὸ τῶν Ἀβραάμ γινεσθαι
 φησιν, ἐγὼ εἰμι. καὶ ἦσαν λίθες, ἵνα βαλλῶσιν αὐτόν. καὶ των μυτηριῶν
 μακρὰς ἐπέτεινε λόγους, λεγῶν. καὶ ὁ αἰσὶς δὲ οὐ ἐγὼ δῶσω ὑπερ τῆς τῆς
 κόσμου ζωῆς, Ἐὰρξ με εἰν, ἐλεγεν σκληρὸς ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτός, τίς δύναται
 αὐτῇ ἀμειν; καὶ πολλοὶ των μαθητῶν αὐτῇ ἀπηλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ
 ἐκέλει μὲν αὐτῇ περιεπατεῖν, τί ἔν ἐδεῖ ποιεῖν, εἶπε μοι; τοῖς υψιλο-
 ῖτοις ἐνδιαλρίθειν ρημασι διηνεως, ὥστε ἀποσοθεῖσαι τὴν θῆραν, καὶ παν-
 τας ἀποκρῆσασθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας; ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τῆς τῆς θεῶς φιαν-

Again, he says, "if they took up stones
 "to stone him, because he said that he was
 "before Abraham, what would they have
 "done if he had told them that he gave
 "the law to Moses. Wherefore, when he
 "said, *it was said to the ancients* he did not
 "say *by whom* it had been said *."

ἄνθρωποις. ἡ γὰρ πάλιν ἐπεὶ εἶπεν ὁ τὸν λόγον μὲς ἀκούων, θανάτῳ
 ἢ μὴ γενέσθαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐλέγον. ἔ καὶ ὡς ἐλεγόμεν ὅτι δαίμονιον
 ἐχθρὸν; Ἀβραὰμ ἀπεθάνει, ἡ οἱ προφῆται ἀπεθάνον. ἡ σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι
 ὁ τὸν λόγον μὲς ἀκούων ἔ μὴ γενέσθαι θανάτῳ; ἡ τί θάυμαστον εἰ το
 πλῆθος εἶα διεκέλλο, ὅτι γε ὁ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀρχόντες ταύτην εἶχον τὴν γνώμην.
 Πῶς ἐν τέλει διαλεγέσθαι εἶα, τοῖς ἔθεν τῶν ὑψηλῶν φέρουσιν; ὅτι γὰρ
 ὅλως ἐκ εἶπε τί μεγα ἡ ὑψηλὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἔ θάυμαστον ἀνθρώποις χαίρει
 συρμένους, ἡ εἶα ἀσθηνῶς ἐχθρὸν. ἡρεῖ μὲν ἐν καὶ τα εἰρημένα δεῖξαι,
 ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ προφῆταις ἡν τῆς τῶν τότε λεγομένων εὐλεῖας.
 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ θάλας μερὲς τὴν το πειρασμοὶ ποιηταὶ φανερὸν. ὡς
 περ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖ σκαυδαλίζουσιν, δορυδομένους, ἀποπηδῶντας λοιδο
 ρούμενους φευγοντας εἶπτε τί μεγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐφθελῆσθαι ὁ χρῆστος. εἶα
 ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι πειρασμοὶ πρὸς ἀρχόντας, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαν τὴν διδασκα
 λῶν, εἰ ποτε τί ταπεινὸν καὶ εὐλεῖας εἶπεν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποπη
 δῶντες, εἰπόντες αὐτὸ πάλιν ὅτι ἀπ ἐμαυτοῦ ποῶ ἐθεν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐδίδαξε
 μὲ ὁ πάλιν μὲς λαλῶ, εὐθεὶς προσεδράμων. καὶ βελομένης ἡμῖν εἰδεία
 σθαι ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταπεινότητά των ρημάτων ἐπιστεύσαν, ἐπι
 σημαίνεσθαι λέγων. ταῦτα αὐτὸς λαλήσαντος πολλοὶ ἐπιστεύσαν εἰς αὐτὸν.
 ἡ ἀλλάχῃ πολλὰχῃ τέλο ευροὶ τίς ἀν εἶα συμβαῖνον. διὰ τέλο πολλὰ
 καὶ πολλὰκις ἀνθρώπων ἐφθελῆσθαι, ἡ πάλιν ἐκ ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλὰ
 ἡ θεοπρεπῶς Or. 32. Opera. vol. I. p. 409, 410.

* Εἰ γὰρ, ἐπεὶ εἶπε, πρὸ τῆς Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι, μάταια
 αὐτὸν ἐπεχειρήσαν, εἰ προσεδῆκεν ὅτι ἡ Μωϋσεὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐδῶκε,
 τί ἐκ ἀν ἐποίησαν. Ser. 51. Opera, vol. 5. p. 696, 697.

“ Our

“ Our Saviour,” he says, “ did not always teach his own divinity in express words, leaving the fuller explication of it to his disciples. If,” says he, “ they (meaning the Jews) were so much offended at the addition of another law to their former, much more must they have been with the doctrine of his divinity †.”

Chrysostom frequently observes that Christ only intimated his divinity obscurely, and left the full discovery of it to his apostles. Thus he says, that “ he himself never said plainly that he made the heavens and the earth, and the sea and all things visible and invisible. And why,” says he, “ do you wonder that others should have said greater things of him than he said of himself, when he explained many things by actions, but never clearly in words. That he made man, he shewed clearly

* Δια δε τελος υδε περι της θεοτης της εαυτης πανταχως φαινεται σαφως παιδευων. Ει γαρ η τε νομος προσθηκη τοσαυτον αυτες εδορυθει, πολλω μαλλον το θεον εαυτον αποφανειν. In Matt. v. Hom. 16. vol. 7. p. 154.

“ enough,

“ enough, as by the blind man ; but when
 “ he was discoursing about the formation of
 “ the first man, he did not say *I* made
 “ them, but, *he that* made them, made them
 “ male and female. And that he made the
 “ world, he signified by the fishes, by the
 “ wine, by the loaves, &c. but never clearly
 “ in words*.” He even says, “ that the
 “ high dignity of Christ was more neces-
 “ sary to be concealed from his disciples,
 “ because they would immediately have told
 “ every thing through an excess of joy †.”

“ Christ,” he says, “ did not reveal
 “ his divinity immediately, but was first
 “ thought to be a prophet, and the Christ,

* Και τι θαυμαζεῖς εἰ εἶεροι μείζονα περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκασιν ὡν αὐτὸς εἰρηκεν. ὅπερ γε πολλὰ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδεικνύμεθ' διὰ τῶν σημείων σαφῶς ἔκ ελεγεν; ὅτι γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν ἐδείξε σαφῶς καὶ διὰ τῶν τυφλῶν. ἡνικα δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ πλάσεως ὁ λόγος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔκ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐποίησα, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτὰς. Πάλιν ὅτι τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησεν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἰχθύων διὰ τῶν οἴκων διὰ τῶν ἀρτῶν — σημασι ὁδῶμεν τετο σαφῶς εἶπεν. In Matt. v. Opera, vol. 7. p. 154.

† Ἐδεῖ γὰρ τῶς λαυδανεῖν, καὶ μαλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν μαθητῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς πάντα ἐκηρύξαγ. In Matt. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 7. p. 271.

“ simply

“ simply a man, and it afterwards appeared
 “ by his works and his sayings what he
 “ really was *.”

Basil of Seleucia says, that “ during the
 “ storm, the disciples of Christ, judging by
 “ appearances, did not know that the deity
 “ was concealed in him ; for they would not
 “ have been terrified, if they had known
 “ that the author of the creation was giving
 “ orders to the work of his hands.” He
 adds, that “ the apostles themselves were as
 “ ignorant of his being God as the rest of
 “ the Jews, when some said that he was
 “ Elias, or Jeremias, or some of the pro-
 “ phets ;” and that Christ, “ knowing the
 “ ignorance of Peter, suggested to him the
 “ answer that he made †.”

* Ου γὰρ εὐθὺς ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν ἐξεκαλυπτεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐνομιζέειν εἶναι προφήτην, καὶ χριστῶ, ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπῳ, ὑστερον δὲ
 ἐφάνη, διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τῶν ρημάτων, τὸ οὗτο ἦν. In Johan. Hom.
 2. Opera, vol. 8. p. 20.

† Τῷ γὰρ φαινόμενῳ προσπίπτουσιν, τὴν κεκρυμμένην ἠγνοῦν θεολογίαν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐξεπλάγησαν, κελουσίᾳ τῇ κίσει θεωρεῖν οἱ δημιουργοὶ εἶναι τῆς κίσεως ἐπιστάμενοι.—Τοσαύτης ἐν ἀγνοίας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ψυχὰς περὶ αὐτῆς βοσκομένης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ χορὸς ἀγνοίας ἐλευ-
 θέρους ἐμενεν.—Εἰδὼς δὲ τὴν ἀγνοίαν, υποβάλλει τῷ Πέτρῳ θεικῶς τὴν ἀποκρίσιν. Or. 25. p. 138, 139. 141.

Theodoret says, that “before his suffer-
 “ings all persons held such an opinion
 “concerning him,” viz. that he was a mere
 man, “but after his resurrection and ascen-
 “sion, the descent of the Spirit, and the
 “various miracles which they performed
 “by invoking his name, all the believers
 “knew that he was God, and the only be-
 “gotten Son of God*.” This is expressed
 in general terms, but it will appear here-
 after, that it is to be understood with great
 limitations ; the knowledge of the divinity
 of Christ being, according to Theodoret
 himself, far from universal among the chris-
 tians, long after the death of Christ.

Sometimes the Fathers speak of Peter as
 knowing that Christ was God before his
 death, by immediate revelation from the
 Father. Chrysostom also says, that before
 our Lord’s resurrection, the apostles had
 learned that God had a Son equal to the

* Προ μεν εν τς παλς τοιαυτας ειχον δοξας περι αυτη . μετα δε
 την αναστασιν, κη την εις ஏρανς ανδρασιν, κη την τς παναγης πνευματος
 επι φοιτησιν, κη τας παντοδαπας θαυματουργιας ας επετελευν, καλυντες
 αυτη το σεβασμιον ονομα, εγνωσαν απαντες οι πιστευοντες, οτι κη θεος
 εστι, κη τς δευ μονογενης υιος. Ad Rom. i. 4. Opera, vol. 3.
 p. 11.

Father*. But, in general, it was their opinion, that even Peter, as well as the other apostles, was ignorant of this great truth, till the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost; and they thought that this was one of the great truths alluded to, when our Lord said, that he had many things to teach his disciples, of which he could not inform them before his death.

Cyril of Alexandria, descanting on this “text, says, they who were not renewed by “the new rule of living, and the new doctrine of the Spirit, to them the recent “preaching of the gospel, and the sublime “mystery of the trinity, was not to be delivered. Justly, therefore, was the interpretation of higher things reserved to the future renovation of the Spirit. That before “the resurrection of the Saviour, and the “coming of the Spirit, the disciples were as “Jews, is easy to prove†.” Austin, however,

* Εμαδου οτι υιος τε δεε εστι, κα υιον εχει ο δεε ομοτιμον.
In Acta, vol. 8. p. 459.

† Qui enim nondum nova vivendi norma, novaque doctrina per spiritum reformati sunt, iis prædicatio evangelii recens, et mysterium trinitatis sublime tradendum non est. Jure igitur renovationi per spiritum futuræ, altiorum

says, that “the doctrine of the divinity of
 “Christ could not be one of the things
 “that Christ would not reveal, because
 “they were not able to bear it, though
 “some had said so*.” And yet this writer himself, as we shall see, acknowledges that the divinity of Christ was not taught with clearness, till it was done by the apostle John. Origen supposed that the things which our Saviour referred to were what related to the abolishing of the Jewish law†. But he thought that John was the person who first taught the doctrine of Christ’s pre-existence and divinity.

rerum interpretatio reservatur. Quod autem ante resurrectionem salvatoris, et ante spiritus adventum, Judaice discipuli vivebant, facillimum est probare. In John, lib. 11. cap. 41. Opera, vol. 1. p. 963.

* In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum, hoc erat in principio apud deum, et alia quæ sequuntur, quoniam postea scripta sunt, nec ea dominum Jesu dixisse narratum est cum hic esset in carne, sed hæc unus ex apostolis ejus ipso ac spiritu ejus sibi revelante conscripsit: ex his esse quæ noluit tunc dominus dicere, quia ea discipuli portare non poterant, quis me audiat tam temere ista dicentem. In John, Tr. 96. cap. 16. Opera, vol. 9. p. 478.

† Ad Celsum, lib. 2. p. 57.

Before

Before I proceed to consider what the Fathers thought of the apostles' sentiments and conduct on the day of Pentecost, I shall take notice of another reason which they give for the care that was taken to conceal the knowledge of our Lord's divinity, which was *to deceive the devil*, lest he, knowing him to be the Messiah, should not have ventured to encounter him, and so, not being conquered by him, and especially by means of his death, the great object of his mission would not have been gained.

This thought first occurs in epistles ascribed to Ignatius, who says, “ the virginity of Mary, her delivery, and his death, were concealed from the prince of this world*.” Jerom says, that both the demons and the devil, rather suspected, than knew the Son of God †. Chrysostom, speaking of the mystery of the incarnation being

* Και ελαθε τον αρχοντα τε αιωνος τετε η παρθενια Μαρίας, η ο τοκετος αυτης, ομοιως η ο θανατος τε κυρις, τρια μυστηρια κρυφτης, ατινα εν πνευχια δεξ επραχθη. Ad. Eph. S. 19. p. 16.

† Jam dæmones quam diaboli suspicari magis filium dei, quam nosse intelligendi sunt. In Matt. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 6. p. 12.

concealed

concealed from many, says, “Why do I say
 “ many? Mary herself, when she carried him
 “ in her womb, did not know the secret. And
 “ why do I say men? The devil himself did
 “ not know it, for if he had known it, he
 “ would not afterwards have asked him upon
 “ the mount, saying, *If thou art the Son of*
 “ *God*; and he did this once, twice, and three
 “ times. On this account he said to John,
 “ who was beginning to reveal him, *hold now*;
 “ that is, be silent now. It is not yet time
 “ to reveal the secret of the incarnation; I
 “ must yet deceive the devil; keep silence
 “ now, for thus it becomes us*.” Again,
 he says, “the devil was at a loss to know
 “ whether Christ was God or not. †.”

* Και τι λεγω τες πολλες, οπα γε εδε αυτη η κυφορυστα παρθενος ηδει το απορητον. Και τι λεγω ανθρωπος, κη αυτον τον διαβολον ελανθανεν. εδε γαρ αν, ειπερ ηδει, ηρωια αυτον μελα τοσελον χρονον επι τε ορες, ει υιος ει τε θες, κη απαξ, κη δις κη τριτον τειλο εποiei. διο κη τω Ιωαννη ελεγεν αρξαμενω αυτον εκκαλυπτειν: αφες αφε· τελεισι, σιγα νυν, εδεπω καιρος τε γαρ εκαλυφθεναι το απορητον της οικονομιας. ελι λανθανειν τον διαβολον βελομαι. σιγα τοινυν φησι. ετω γαρ πρεπον εστιν ημιν. In Pf. 49. Opera, vol. 3. p. 289.

† Εν αμνηχανια λοιπον ην, κη ελε ολι ανθρωπος ην ψιλος πιτευσαι ηδυνατο, δια τα περι αυτης λεχθεντα· εδε αυ παλιν παραδεξασθαι, ολι, υιος ην τε θεου, δια το βλεπειν αυτον πεινωλια. In Matt. Opera, vol. 7. p. 119.

There is something pleasant in the manner in which the Fathers sometimes speak of the devil being deceived by the humanity of Christ. Cyril of Jerusalem says, “it was necessary that Christ should suffer for us, but the devil would not have come near him, if he had known this; for if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. 1 Cor. ii. 8. The body, therefore, was the bait of death, that the dragon, thinking to swallow it down, might vomit up all that he had swallowed *.”

Ruffinus also represents the divinity of Christ as concealed within his humanity, to catch the devil as with a bait; and to prove this, he adduces many passages of the Old Testament, especially that of Ezek. *I will draw thee out with my hook, &c*†.

* Εδει παθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν κυρίον, ἀλλ' ἔκ αν εἰσλῆμσε προσελθεῖν ὁ διαβόλος, εἰ ἦδει τέλειον. εἰ γὰρ ἐγνώσαν, ἔκ αν τὸν κυρίον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν. δελεᾶρ τοῖνυν τὴ θανάτῃ γεγόνε το σῶμα, ἵνα ἐλπίσας καὶ ἀπαῖσιν ὁ δράκων, ἐξεμέσῃ καὶ τῆς ἡδὴ καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. Is. 25. 8. Cat. 12. Opera, p. 155.

† Ita et is qui habet mortis imperium rapuit quidem in morte corpus Jesu, non sentiens in eo hamum divinitatis inclusum; sed ubi devoravit, hæsit ipse continuo, et dirup-
tis

Theodoret says, that Christ concealed his divinity in his temptation by the devil; and says, that when the devil heard him speak as a man, he was encouraged to proceed with the temptation. He represents him as saying, “ I heard the voice that came down
“ from heaven, calling you the Son of God,
“ but I shall not believe it till it appear by
“ facts* .”

Job the monk also says, “ it was necessary that the mystery of the incarnation of
“ the logos should be concealed, both to
“ make it more acceptable to the hearers,
“ and also to deceive the devil †.”

Basil of Seleucia says, that, “ though the
“ demons called Christ the Son of God,
“ they did not know that he was God, be-

tis inferni claustris, velut de profundo extractus, trahitur ut esca cæteris fiat. In Symb. Opera, p. 179.

* Κρυπτεῖ μὲν τὴν θεότητα — καὶ ἀπηγορεύσε τὴν νικην ἀκυσσας ὡς ἀνδρωπῶ-
ειν. Τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀνωθεν ἐλθεσθῆς φωνῆς ἠκυσσα, φησι, τὸ
σε καλεσσεσθῆς, ἀπῴσω δέ, ἕως ἀν λαβῶ τὴν πειρὰν διδάσκαλον. Opera,
vol. 5. p. 46.

† Αναγκαῖον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἐπισκιαζεσθαι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς τοῦ λόγου σαρκ-
ώσεως διὰ δὲ τὸ γενεσθαι τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις εὐπαραδέκτον, καὶ ἵνα τὰ
σκοτεινὰ τοῦ ἀρχόντος λαθῇ. Photii. Bib. S. 222. p. 622.

“ cause all very good men are called *sons of God*, and Israel is called his first born *.”

It was objected, that it was wrong in God to conquer the devil by deceiving him, the divinity of Christ being concealed under his human nature ; but Gregory Nyssen replies, that “ it was fair enough to deceive the de-
“ ceiver †.”

If it was imagined to be necessary that the devil, whose cunning and penetration was never thought very lightly of, should remain ignorant of our Lord’s divinity, he must, no doubt, have concealed it with the greatest care, and have conducted himself in the most cautious manner. If the devil was not able to discover any thing of the matter, how could *men* find it out, and especially Jews, whose most sanguine expectations from the Messiah went no farther than to a man, born like other men ? Certainly they

* ΥΙΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΛΕΣΙ. ΘΕΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΞΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΝΤΑΙ . ΥΙΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΕΚΛΗΝΤΑΙ, Κ’ ΟΙ ΔΙΑΚΡΕΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ . ΕΤΩ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΕΣ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ. Or. 23. p. 128.

† Η ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΤ’ ΑΞΙΑΝ ΑΝΙΛΔΟΣΙΣ, ΔΙ’ ΗΣ Ο ΑΠΑΙΣΩΝ ΑΝΙΕΠΑΙΔΑΙ ΤΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΔΕΚΕΥΣΣΩ. Or. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 515.

who

who thought that the devil continued ignorant of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ till after his death, must have thought that all the Jews, and our Lord's disciples, were ignorant of those doctrines. If, as Chrysostom says, it was particularly necessary to conceal this great secret from our Lord's disciples, lest they should have published it through joy, and also from his enemies, and the devil, lest they should have counteracted the design of his coming, we may take it for granted, that, in the opinion of the writers who have given us these representations, it was no more suspected at the time of Christ's death, that he had even pre-existed, or that he had had any thing to do in the making or governing the world, than that he was to be so great a personage before he was born.

Let us now see in what manner the apostles were supposed to have conducted themselves in this respect after our Lord's ascension, and after the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Testimony of Athanasius to the Caution with which the Apostles divulged the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

AS the Testimony of Athanasius, on account of his known orthodoxy, and of course his unwillingness to make any needless concessions to his adversaries, may be thought to have more weight than any other, I shall, in the first place, produce it; and as exceptions have been made to it, I shall shew that, independent of any concurrent testimony of others of the Fathers, who have mentioned the subject, and which I shall produce hereafter, it clearly proves that, in his idea, the apostles thought it necessary to use great caution in divulging to the Jews so offensive a doctrine as that of the divinity of Christ; though, in consequence of their caution on this head, the Jewish christians did in their age continue unitarians,

unitarians, believing Christ to be nothing more than a mere man, and also propagated the same doctrine among the Gentile converts. The passage itself is as follows :

“ Will they affirm,” says he, “ that the
“ apostles held the doctrine of Arius, because
“ they say that Christ was a man of Nazareth,
“ and suffered on the cross ? or because they
“ used these words, were the apostles of
“ opinion that Christ was only a man, and
“ nothing else ? By no means : this is
“ not to be imagined. But this they did
“ as wise master-builders, and stewards of
“ the mysteries of God ; and they had this
“ good reason for it. For the Jews of that
“ age, being deceived themselves, and hav-
“ ing deceived the Gentiles, thought that
“ Christ was a mere man, only that he came
“ of the seed of David, resembling other
“ descendants of David, and did not be-
“ lieve either that he was God, or that the
“ word was made flesh. On this account
“ the blessed apostles, with great prudence,
“ in the first place, taught what related to
“ the humanity of our Saviour to the Jews,
“ that having fully persuaded them, from his

“ miraculous works, that Christ was come,
 “ they might afterwards bring them to the
 “ belief of his divinity, shewing that his
 “ works were not those of a man, but of
 “ God. For example, Peter having said
 “ that Christ was a man who had suffered,
 “ immediately added, he is the prince of
 “ life. In the gospel he confesses, thou
 “ art the Christ, the Son of the living God;
 “ and in his epistle, he calls him the bishop
 “ of souls *.”

* Ουδεν γαρ αυτοις αβολημην, οτι και αυτοι αποστολοι τα
 Αρειν εφρονεν. ανθρωπον γαρ αυτον απο Ναζαρεθ, και πα-
 θηλον τον χριστον απαγγελλουσιν, εκεινων τοιων τοιαυτα φαν-
 ταζομεν, ας επειδη τοις ρημασι τειροις εχρησαντο, μονον
 ανθρωπον ηδειςαν τον χριστον οι αποστολοι, η παλεον εδεν;
 μη γεναιτο· εκ εστιν εδε εις νυν ποτε τετο λαβειν· αλλα η
 τετο ως αρχιτεκτονες σωφοι, η οικο ομοι μυστηριων δεσ πε-
 ποιηκασι. η την αιτιαν εχουσιν ευλογον· επειδη γαρ οι
 ποτε Ιουδαιοι πλανηθεντες, η πλανησαντες Ελληνας, ενομιζον
 τον χριστον ψILON ανθρωπον, μονον εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ αρ-
 χεδαι, καθ ομοιοτητα των εκ του Δαβιδ αλλων γενομενων
 τεκνων· ετε δε θεον αυτον, εδε οτι λογος σαρκ εγενετο επι-
 σευον. τετε ενεκα, μετα πολλης της συτσεως οι μακαριοι
 αποστολοι τα ανθρωπινα τε σωτηρος εξηγενητο πρωτον ταις
 Ιουδαιοις, ινα ολας πεισαντες αυτες, εκ των φαινομενων η
 γενομενων σημειων, εληλυθηναι τον χριστον, λοιπον η εις τα
 περι της θεοτητας αυτε πισιν αυτες αναγαγασιν, δεικνυντες
 οτι τα γενομενα εργα εκ εστιν ανθρωπος, αλλα δεσ. αμελει
 Πετρος ο λεγων ανδρα παθητον τον χριστον, ευδυς συνηπτεν
 ατος αρχηγος της ζωης εστιν, &c. &c. De Sententia Dionysii,
 Opera, vol. i. p. 553, 554.

There

There is a passage in the *Sermo Major de fide* of this writer, published in *Montfaucon's Collectio Patrum*, which bears some resemblance to this. Speaking of Peter preaching Christ as Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God, he says, “He calls
 “him a man, and not God, with respect
 “to the Jews, and others, who, like them,
 “considered things according to the flesh,
 “from that time to the present. And the
 “apostles of our Lord, and our Lord him-
 “self, answered concerning himself as a
 “man. Ye seek to kill me, a man who
 “has told you the truth*.

It has been said, that Athanasius is here speaking of the unbelieving Jews. The expression is, *οι τοτε Ιουδαιοι* *the Jews of that age*; which includes both the believing and unbelieving Jews. Had he been speaking of the Jews of his own time, it would, I own, have been probable that he meant the unbelieving Jews; but speaking as he

* Άνδρα τὲ αὐτὸν φησι, καὶ ἔθρονον, πρὸς τὰς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὰς ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς κατὰ σάρκα φρονεῖντας ἐκ τότε καὶ νῦν. καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κυρίως περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων. τί με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτείνειν, ἀνθρώπον ὃς τὴν ἀληθείαν ὑμῖν ἔλεξα. Vol. 2. p. 16.

does of the Jews at the very first promulgation of christianity among them, it is most natural to suppose that he meant all the Jews. Paul, long after his conversion to christianity, called himself a Jew. However, it will be sufficiently evident from the whole tenor of the passage, that he must have meant the believing Jews principally, and in some respects, the believing Jews only, exclusive of the unbelieving ones. And in this construction of the passage, I am by no means singular, but have the sanction of trinitarians themselves, as that of the Latin translator and Beaufobre.

The Latin translator of Athanasius, a catholic, and certainly no unitarian, had so little suspicion of any other meaning, that he renders *χριστιαν* in this place by *Jesum*. The learned Beaufobre, a trinitarian, and therefore, an unexceptionable judge in this case, quoting this very passage, does not hesitate to pronounce that they were believing Jews who were intended by the writer, “Ces Juifs,” he says, “ne sont pas les Juifs incredules, mais ceux qui fa-
soient profession du christianisme. But
admitting

admitting that the Jews here meant were unbelieving Jews, they were such as the apostles wished to convert to christianity, and many of them soon became christians.

But the circumstance which decisively proves that the Jews Athanasius is speaking of were *christian Jews*, is their drawing the Gentiles into the belief of the simple humanity of Christ. For certainly the gospel was preached to the Gentiles by the believing, and not by the unbelieving Jews. If it be supposed that the doctrine Athanasius speaks of was not concerning *Jesus*, but the *Messiah in general*, how could it interest the Gentiles? The doctrine, therefore, must have been that concerning *Jesus*, and consequently, the preachers must have been christian Jews, and their proselytes christian Gentiles. It is ridiculous to suppose that the question could be interesting to any others.

Supposing, however, the whole body of the Gentiles (little as they were concerned in the question) to have been previously taught by the Jews, that their Messiah, whenever he should come, would be nothing

thing more than a man; if this was an opinion that they were as fully persuaded of as Athanasius represents the Jews. their teachers, to have been, the same caution must have been as necessary with respect to them, as with respect to the Jews themselves, and for the same reason.

It has been said, that Athanasius says nothing about the *caution* of the apostles, but only speaks of their *prudence*, in teaching what was more easy and necessary, before that which was more difficult and less necessary. But the term *συνεσις*, in the connexion in which it stands, can bear no other sense than *caution*, and great caution, *μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς συνεσεως*, and it appears from the whole tenor of the discourse, that Athanasius could have intended nothing else than to describe the prudence, or extreme caution of the apostles, and to account for it. He evidently does not represent them as deferring the communication of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, on account of its being more conveniently taught afterwards, as part of a system of faith; but only lest it should have given offence to the Jews.

If

If skill, or prudence, in these circumstances, be not the same thing with *caution*, I do not know what is meant by caution.

It has been said that Athanasius speaks of the *rapidity* with which Peter proceeded to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, I find no trace of rapidity in this account of the apostles conduct. All that approaches to it is that, immediately after any mention of the humanity of Christ (which he speaks of as necessary on account of the Jewish prejudices) he says the apostles subjoin some expressions which might have led their hearers to the knowledge of his divinity; but the instances he produces are such as plainly confute any pretensions to their being a distinct and full declaration of that doctrine.

The first instance he gives us is from the speech of Peter to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, in which he says (Acts ii. 22.)
“ Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus
“ of Nazareth, a man approved of God
“ among you, by miracles and wonders, and
“ signs, which God did by him in the midst
“ of

“ of you, as ye yourselves also know.” In this Athanasius acknowledges, that Peter preached the proper humanity of Christ, but says that, immediately afterwards (referring to his discourse on the cure of the lame man in the temple) he called him *the prince of life* (Acts iii. 10.) “ and killed the “ prince of life whom God hath raised from “ the dead.”

Had the apostle meant that his audience should have understood him as referring to the divinity of Christ by that expression, his prudence must have lasted but a very short time indeed ; probably not many days. If, therefore, his intention was, as Athanasius represents it, to preach the doctrine of the humanity of Christ in the first place, and not to divulge the doctrine of his divinity till they were firmly persuaded of his messiahship, he could not *mean* to allude to his divinity in this speech, which was addressed not to the believing, but to the unbelieving Jews. At least, he could only have thought of doing it in such a manner as that his hearers might afterwards infer the doctrine from it; and it must have required great ingenuity,

ingenuity, and even a strong prepossession in favour of the divinity of Christ (the reverse of which this writer acknowledges) to imagine that this expression of *prince of life*, which so easily admits of another interpretation, had any such reference. Moreover, in all the instances which Athanasius produces concerning the conduct of the apostles in this respect, from the book of Acts, he does not pretend to find one in which the divinity of Christ is distinctly preached, though he quotes four passages in which his humanity is plainly spoken of.

Besides, had Athanasius thought that the apostle had preached the doctrine of the divinity of Christ with much effect, it is probable that he would have added this circumstance to his narrative; as, from the object of the work in which the passage is introduced, it may be inferred, that he could not but have thought that it would have been sufficiently to his purpose. For, certainly, if he could have added that, notwithstanding their caution in preaching this extraordinary doctrine (against which he acknowledges the Jews had the strongest prejudices)

judices) the apostles nevertheless did preach it with effect, and that it was the general belief of the Jewish christians in their time, he would have done it. It would certainly have favoured his great object in writing the piece, viz. the vindication of Dionysius, in using a like caution with respect to the Sabellians, to have added, that this prudence, or caution, was not, in either of the two cases, finally detrimental to the cause of truth. I therefore consider the silence of Athanasius on this head as a negative argument of some weight; and, upon the whole, I think that Athanasius must have supposed that both the Jewish and Gentile churches were unitarian in the time of the apostles. At least, he enables us to infer that it must have been so, which is quite sufficient for my argument.

Now if this caution was requisite in the first instance, and with respect to the first converts that the apostles made, it was equally requisite with respect to the rest, at least for the sake of others who were not yet converted, unless the first should have been enjoined secrecy on that head. For

whenever it had been known that the apostles were preaching not such a messiah as they expected, viz. a man like themselves, but the eternal God, the difference was so great, that a general alarm would have been spread, and the conversion of the rest of the Jews (to a doctrine which must have appeared so highly improbable to them) would have been impeded. We may therefore presume that the apostles must have connived at this state of ignorance concerning the divinity of Christ, in the Jewish christians, till there was little hope of making any farther converts among the Jews, and till the gospel began to be preached to the Gentiles.

Indeed, this must have been the case according to Athanasius's own account ; for he says, that these Jews, being in an error themselves, led the Gentiles into the same error. He must, therefore, be understood to say, that the Jewish converts, while (through the caution of the apostles) they were ignorant of the divinity of Christ, preached the gospel in that state to the Gentiles. And as he speaks of *Gentiles in*

general, and without any respect to *time*, and also of their being actually brought over to that belief, it is impossible not to understand him of this caution, being continued till the gospel had been fully preached to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. Besides, one of the instances that Athanasius here gives of the preaching of the simple humanity of Christ is taken from the discourse of the apostle Paul at Athens, which was about the year 53 after Christ; and, indeed, at this time the gospel had not been preached to any great extent among the Gentiles. For it was on this very journey that this apostle first preached the gospel in Macedonia and Greece.

If, according to Athanasius, the apostolical reserve with respect to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ continued till this time (and he says nothing concerning the termination of it) we may presume that this great doctrine, supposing it to have been known to the apostles, had not been publicly taught by them, till very near the time of their dispersion and death; and then I think it must have come too late, even from them.

For

For it appears from the book of Acts, that their mere *authority* was not sufficient to overbear the prejudices of their countrymen. At least, the communication of a doctrine of so extraordinary a nature, of which they had no conception, must have occasioned such an alarm and consternation, as we must have found some traces of in the history of the Acts of the apostles. It could not have been received without hesitation and debate.

If we can suppose that the apostles, some time before their death, did communicate this great and unexpected doctrine, the effects of such communication must have been very transient. For presently after the death of the apostles, we find all the Jewish christians distinguished by the name of Nazarenes, or Ebionites, and no trace of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ among them.

When all these things are considered, viz. that Athanasius acknowledged that it required great caution in the apostles to divulge the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and that the gospel was preached with success among the Gentiles, while the Jews

were ignorant of it, it can hardly be doubted, but that he must himself have considered the christian church in general as unitarian in the time of the apostles, at least till near the time of their dispersion and death.

According to Athanasius, the Jews were to be well grounded in the belief of Jesus being the Christ, before they could be taught the doctrine of his divinity. Now, if we look into the book of Acts, we shall clearly see, that they had not got beyond the first lesson in the apostolic age, the great burden of the preaching of the apostles being to persuade the Jews that Jesus was the *Christ*. That he was likewise *God*, they evidently left to their successors, who, indeed, did it most effectually, though it required a long course of time to succeed in it.

C H A P T E R V.

Of the concurrent Testimony of other Fathers to the caution of the Apostles, in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

I Have no great occasion to lay much stress on the testimony of Athanasius, as there is that of others of the Fathers sufficiently full and clear to the same purpose.

Chrysostom having said, that Christ taught his divinity by his works only, says, that “ Peter also, in the beginning, “ used the same method. For that, in his “ first discourse to the Jews, he taught no- “ thing clearly concerning his divinity ; “ and because they were then incapable of “ learning any thing clearly concerning it, “ he dwelt upon his humanity ; that, being “ accustomed to this, they might be pre- “ pared for what they were to be taught “ afterwards. And if any person,” he says, “ will attend to the whole of their preach-

“ing, he will see what I say very clearly.
 “For he calls him *a man*, and dwells upon
 “his suffering and resurrection, and things
 “belonging to the flesh. And Paul, when
 “he speaks of his being *the Son of David*
 “*according to the flesh*, teaches us nothing
 “farther, that what belonged to the huma-
 “nity might be acknowledged. But the
 “son of thunder discourses concerning his
 “mysterious and eternal existence; so that,
 “omitting what he *did*, he relates what he
 “*was* *.”

The same writer says, that the apostles concealed the doctrine of the miraculous conception on account of the incredulity of

* Δια τούτο καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν ἀρχῇ τούτω κοχρηλαί τω τρόπῳ. καὶ γὰρ ταύτην [πράξιν] πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐδημηγορεῖ δημηγορίαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὕδεν περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτῆς τῶς σαφὲς μαθεῖν ἰσχύουσιν, διὰ τούτο τοῖς περὶ τῆς οικονομίας ἐνδιαφέρει λόγοις· ἢ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκοὴ γυμνασθεῖσα τῇ λοιπῇ προσδοκίᾳ διδασκαλία. καὶ εἰ βέλυστο αὐτὴ τὴν δημηγορίαν πᾶσαν ἀντι-θεὶ διεξελθὲν, εὐρησεῖ τούτο ὁ λεγὼ σφοδρὰ διαλαμπὸν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὰ αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τοῖς τὰ πατέρας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννησεως ἐνδιαφέρει λόγοις. καὶ Παῦλος δὲ. οἱ αὖν λεγὴ, τὰ γενομένα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, ὕδεν εἶδον ἡμῶς παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῆς οικονομίας παρεληλυθαι· ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογούμεν. ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ προσωνυμίας ἡμῶν υπαρχέως διαλε-γέσθαι. διὰ τούτο τὸ ἐποίησεν ἀφ' ἑνὸς, τὸ ἡ' ἐθήκεν. In John, Hom. 2. Opera, vol. 8. p. 20.

the Jews with respect to it, and that when they began to preach the gospel, they insisted chiefly on the resurrection of Christ. With respect to the former (and the same may, no doubt, be applied to the latter) he says, “ he did not give his own opinion
“ only, but that which came by tradition
“ from the Fathers and eminent men. He,
“ therefore, would not have his hearers to
“ be alarmed, or think his account of it
“ extraordinary*.”

Thus, he says, that “ it was not to give
“ offence to the Jews, that Peter, in his
“ first speech to them, did not say that
“ *Christ* did the wonderful works of which
“ he spake, but that *God* did them by him ;
“ that by speaking more modestly he might
“ conciliate them to himself†.” The same caution he attributes to him in “ not saying
“ that Christ, but that God spake by the

* Αλλά μη δορυβησθε προς το παρὰδύξον τὰ λεγόμενα . ὃ δὲ γὰρ ἔμμεν ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ πατέρων ἡμετέρων θαυμασίων καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ἀνδράων .
In cap. Matt. 1. Hom. 3. vol. 7. p. 20.

† Οὐκ ἔτι λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, ἵνα μᾶλλον τῷ μετρίως εὐφελκυσθῇ. In Acta Apostolorum, cap. 2. Hom. 6. vol. 8. p. 491.

“mouth of his holy prophets, that by these
 “means he might bring them gradually to
 “the faith*.”

After treating pretty largely of the conduct of the apostles, with respect to their insisting on the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, rather than that of his divinity, immediately after the descent of the Holy Spirit, he says, “As to the Jews who had
 “daily heard and been taught out of the
 “law, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is*
 “*one Lord, and besides him there is no other,*
 “having seen him (Jesus) nailed to a cross,
 “yea, having killed and buried him them-
 “selves, and not having seen him risen
 “again; if they had heard that this person
 “was God equal to the Father, would not
 “they have rejected and spurned at it.” I want words in English to express the force of the Greek in this place. The latin translator renders it, *nonne maxime omnes ab his verbis abhoruissent, ac resiliissent et oblatrassent.*
 “On this account,” he adds, “they (the

* Ου λεγει ων ειπεν ο χριστος, αλλ' ων ελαλησεν ο θεος, ελι τω συσκιαζειν μαλλον αυτες επαγομενος εις τωσιν ηρεμα. In Acta Apostolorum, Hom. 9. vol. 8. p. 511.

“ apostles) brought them forwards gently
 “ and by slow degrees, and used great art in
 “ condescending to their weakness *.”

Chrysostom represents the apostle as beginning his epistle to the Hebrews with saying, that “ it was God who spake
 “ by the prophets, and not that Christ
 “ himself had spoken by them, because
 “ their minds were weak, and they were
 “ not able to bear the doctrine concern-
 “ ing Christ †. He even says, that when

* Πως δε αν Ιεδαιοι οι καθ' εκαστην ημεραν, μανθανόντες υπο των νομων. Ανε Ισραηλ, κυριος ο θεος σε κυριος εις εστιν, κ' πολλην αυτη εκ εστιν αλλος, επι ξυλης γαυρω ιδόντες προσσηλωμενον αυτον, μαλλον δε κ' γαυρωσαντες κ' θαυσαντες, κ' εδε ανασταλια δεασαμενοι, ακουόντες οτι θεος εστιν αυτος εις, κ' τω πατρι ισος, εκ αν μαλιστα παντων απεπηδησαν κ' απερραγησαν. Διαλι τιλο ηρεμα, κ' καλια μικρον. αυτης προσειδαξισι, κ' πολλη μεν κεχηρηται τη της συγκυλιασσεως οικονομια.
 In Acta Hom. i. Opera, vol. 8. p. 447.

† Και δεα τι συνελως αυτο ειρημς. ε γαρ ειπεν ο θεος ελαλησεν καλιτοιγε αυτος ην ο λαλησας. αλλ' επειδη ασθενεις αυτων ησαν αι ψυχαι, κ' εδεπω ακνειν ηδυναντο τα περι της χριστη, φησιν ο θεος δι αυτης ελαλησεν. In Heb. cap. i. Opera, vol. 10. p. 1756. i. e.
 “ See how prudently he spoke: for he said God spake
 “ though it was himself that spake; but because their
 “ minds were weak and they were not able to bear the
 “ things concerning Christ, he says *God spake by him.*”
 N. B. The (ε) in the second clause of this passage must be

“ he there speaks of Christ as above the “ angels,” he still spake of his humanity. “ See,” says he, “ his great caution, *ορα την συνεσιν την πολλην* *,” the very expression used by Athanasius on a similar occasion.

But we find no trace of either Jews or Gentiles having received these sublime doctrines that Chrysostom alludes to in the age of the apostles. Nay we see that he himself represents the apostle Paul as obliged to use the same caution with respect to the Jews, when he wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, which was so late as A. D, 62. about two years before his death.

Theodoret observes, that “ in the genealogy of Christ given by Matthew, this “ writer did not add *according to the flesh*, “ because the men of that time would not “ bear it;” evidently meaning, that they would thereby have been led into a suspi-

be inserted by mistake for (ε) or some other particle, as it contradicts what is said in the close of the sentence. and the obvious sense of the whole. Or perhaps, the first δε should have been γαρ.

* In Heb. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 10. p. 1755.

cion that, in the idea of the writer, he had some higher origin, and that they would have been offended at it. “But the apostle Paul,” he says, “could not avoid that expression in his epistle to the Romans.” He adds that, “before his death, not only to the other Jews, but to the apostles themselves, he did not appear as a God, nor did his miracles lead them to form that opinion of him†.” This writer also

† Ἡ γὰρ τὴ κατὰ σὰρκα προσοδηκὴ, ἀνιττίεται ὡς τὸ θεὸς καὶ παῖρ υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν. εἶδε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ τοῦ μόνου οὐκ ὄντων ὅτι ἐφωτίαι, ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν τὸ κατὰ σὰρκα προσκεκμενον. καὶ μαρτυροῦν οὐ μακαρίους Ματθαίους οὐ εὐαγγελιστὰς· εἰρηκῶς γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς τὴν γενεαλογίαν διεξελθὼν, εὐχόμενος τὸ κατὰ σὰρκα προσεδείκναι. οὐκ ἤμενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη προσοδηκὴ. εἰδοὺς δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἀνθρώπου μόνον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸς προαιωνίως ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας θεὸς λόγος, τὸ σπέρματος τὸ Δαβὶδ μνημονεύσας ὁ θεὸς ἀποστόλος, ἀναγκάτως τὸ κατὰ σὰρκα προσεδείκναι, σαφῶς ἡμῶς διδάξας, πῶς μὲν υἱὸς ἐστὶ τὸ θεὸς, πῶς δὲ τὸ Δαβὶδ ἐχρημάτισε.—Προ μὲν τὸ σαυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος, ὁ δεσπότης χριστὸς ὁ μόνος τοῖς ἀλλοῖς Ἰσραηλῶσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐκ εὐδοκίας εἶναι θεός. προσεπὶ τῶν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐστὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν, καὶ καθεκδοκίαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν θεωμένην, καὶ εἶδε τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ταύτην ἐποδηγεῖ τὴν δόξαν. αὐτὸς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν θαλάτταν θάσσασθαι θαύματα ἐλεγον πολλὰ ἐστὶν υἱὸς ὁ ἀνθρώπος, οἱ καὶ ἡ θαλάττα καὶ οἱ ἀνεμοὶ ὑποκυνθῶν αὐτῷ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐλέγετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς. πολλὰ ἐχω λεγέειν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δύνασθε βασιλεῖν αὐτῷ.—Προ μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοιαύτως

says, that the apostles in mentioning the subjection of Christ to the Father (1 Cor. xv.) spake of him more lowly than was necessary for their advantage *."

Œcumenius also says, that " Peter in his " first speech, though by saying that *Christ* " *rose according to the flesh*, he intimated that " he was God, yet refers all to the Father, " that they might receive his sayings†." He makes the same observation on Peter's saying, the promise of the Spirit was from the Father. " He refers things to the Father,

ειχον δοξας περι αυτου . μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνα-
 βασιν, καὶ τὴν παναγίαν πνευματικὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν, καὶ τὰς πάντοτε ἀποστολικὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ ἐπέτελεν, καλεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ θεοῦ ὄνομα, ἐγνώσαν
 ἀπαντὲς οἱ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι καὶ θεὸς ἐστὶν, καὶ τὸν δεῦν μονογεγνητὸν υἱόν. In
 Rom. cap. i. Opera, vol. 3. p. 15. Ed. Halæ.

* Ο μὲν ἐν θεοῖς ἀποστολὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς μυθολογίας φουρμει-
 νὴν υφ' ὀνόματι βλαβὴν, ταῦτα προσεδείκε, ταπεινότητος χρησάμενος
 λόγοις διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὠφελείαν. In 1 Cor. xv. Opera, vol. 3.
 p. 273.

† Καὶ ὅτε εἶπεν ἡλθεν εἰς τὸν χριστόν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐγκωμια-
 ζεῖται ὁ Δαυὶδ, διὰ τὴν, προφητικὴν ἐν ὑπαρχῇ, ἵνα διὰ τὴν
 πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ τὸ γένος τοῦ ἀπ' ἐκείνου, τὸν χριστὸν δεξώμεται τὸν
 περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον. καὶ ἐκ εἰπεν, ὅτι ἐπηγγελισθὲν αὐτῷ
 ὁ θεὸς αἰὲν ὁ μειζὼν καὶ ἀπαραβάτος ἐν, τοῦ ὁμοῦ τοῦ δεῦν καὶ
 σὰρκα κηρυττοῦτος ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ θεὸς χριστός, καὶ συνέειν ἐν τῷ
 πᾶσι. πάντα δὲ τῷ πᾶσι ἀναβιβασθῇ, ἵνα τῶν παραδεξ-
 ῶν τα λεγόμενα. Opera, vol. i. p. 21.

" that

“ that he might draw his hearers *.” Again, he observes, that he said “ the Father, and not “ Christ, promised that appearance by Joel †.” On another part of his speech, in which mention is made of *God glorifying his Son Jesus*, he says, “ he spake humbly concern- “ ing him ‡.”

Quoting Theodoret, he “ calls low dis- “ courses concerning Christ the *first ele- “ ments*. To those who were not capable “ of a perfect faith, the preachers of the “ gospel offered what relates to the huma- “ nity of Christ. Thus the blessed Peter “ preaching to the Jews, measures his doc- “ trine by the weakness of his hearers. “ For he says, *Jesus of Nazareth, a man “ approved of God among you*. And ye “ have need, he says, from negligence, “ not being such (i. e. perfect) of milk, “ not of strong meat. He calls low dis-

* Καὶ παλιν τῷ πατρὶ ἀνατίθησι τὸ γέγονος. αἶδε γὰρ ἔτω τὴς ἀκρατῆς ἐπιστομῆς. Oecumen, vol. i. p. 21.

† Κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον [πᾶν] εἶπεν ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἀπαγγέλλεται τὸ διὰ Ἰωὴλ τε προφητεῖ. Vol. i. p. 21.

‡ Εἰ τῶν ταπεινῶν ἐχέται — διὰ τὴν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἰδίᾳ διαμει- θαιμαζερῆσαι — τῷ προσδεῖναι τὸν παῖδα. ὅτι γὰρ τὸ αὐτοδξατὸν ἐν προσδεῖναι δέξῃ λαβεῖν. Ibid. p. 28.

“ courses concerning Christ, those that re-
 “ late to the flesh, *milk*, and *strong meat*
 “ for the perfect, discourses concerning the
 “ divinity of Christ. For those, there-
 “ fore, who were babes in faith, there was
 “ need of low discourses, as milk is fit
 “ for babes ; but for the perfect in faith,
 “ there was need of strong meat, the sublime
 “ philosophy concerning Christ. Every
 “ one, he says, who partakes of milk, that
 “ is, every one, who wants these low
 “ discourses concerning the humanity of
 “ Christ (for they are milk) is unskilful,
 “ and not a partaker of the word of righte-
 “ ousness. By the word of righteousness,
 “ he means the doctrine of the divinity of
 “ Christ, &c.*”

* ΑΛΛΟ. σοφεία της αρχής των λόγων τε δεσ, τῆς ταπεινότητος
 περὶ χρίστ λόγος ἐκάλεσε. τοῖς γὰρ μὴτε πω τὴν πῖσιν ἐσχηκοσι
 τελείων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος προσέφερον μόνα, τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ
 κήρυκες. ὥτως ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος Ἰουδαίους δημηγορῶν ἐμείνητε τὴν δι-
 δασκαλίαν τῇ σπένδεια των ἀκροῦτων. Ἰησοῦν γὰρ, εἶπε, τὸν Ναζωραῖον,
 ἀνδρὰ ἀπο τε δεσ ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς υμᾶς. Καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἐχού-
 ντες. Αὐτοὶ γεγόνατε, φησὶν, ἐκ βραδυμίας, καὶ οὐδὲ τοιαῖοι, γαλακτὸς καὶ
 ἔ στερᾶς τροφῆς. γαλα λέγει τῆς ταπεινῆς περὶ χρίστ λόγος, τῆς περὶ
 τῆς σαρκος : στερᾶν δὲ τροφὴν, τῆς τελείας τῆς περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ.
 τοῖς ἂν εἰ νηπίοις τὴν πῖσιν, εἶδει λόγων ταπεινῶν (κατάλληλον γὰρ τοῖς
 νηπίοις τὸ γαλα) τοῖς δὲ τελείοις τὴν πῖσιν, τῆς στερᾶς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς
 ὑψηλῆς

“ Having called discourses concerning
 “ the humanity of Christ, the *first principles*,
 “ and those concerning his divinity *perfection*, lest they should despond, as not
 “ being worthy of the most perfect discourses, he endeavours to give them those
 “ that were perfect. And he says so, but
 “ not in the same sense in which he had
 “ used the word *perfect* before, for they
 “ were not able to bear it. But he disposes
 “ his discourse in another manner, calling
 “ first principles, baptism, the imposition of
 “ hands, and the sign;” perhaps that of the cross, “ and perfection, the philosophy of
 “ works *”

υψηλῆς περὶ χριστοῦ φιλοσοφίας. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μείζων γαλακτὸς, πᾶς γὰρ. φησιν. ὁ μείζων λόγων ταπεινῶν, τῶν περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τοῦ κυρίου (εἶσι γὰρ τὸ γάλα) ἀπειροῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμελοχὸς λόγῳ δικαιοσύνης. λόγῳ δεδίκαισμένης λέγει, τὸν περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου ἢ σερρα τροφή. ὁ ὑψηλὸς λόγος, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ περὶ χριστοῦ δογματικά. In Heb. Opera, vol. 2. p. 353.

* Ἄνω εἰπὼν ἀρχὴν τοῦ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνης τοῦ κυρίου λόγου, τελειότητα δὲ τοῦ περὶ θεότητος. ἵνα μὴ ἀδύνατον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ ἀξίον τῶν τελειότερων λόγων λέγειν τοὺς τελεῖς πειράζει. λέγει δὲ. ἔχ. ὡς ἂν τελεῖς ἐκάλει, (καὶ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν ἀκρῆσαι.) ἀλλ’ ἕως μετ’ ὅθεν τὸν λόγον. ἀρχὴν μὲν τὸ βάπτισμα καλῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν καὶ σφραγίδα, τελειότητα δὲ, τὴν δι’ ἐργῶν φιλοσοφίαν, Photius in Ecumen. in Heb. vol. 2. p. 354.

Commenting

Commenting on Heb. v. 7. *he was heard*, “*in that he feared*, Œcumenius says, “*this* “*he said on account of the weakness of his* “*hearers *.*” And again, speaking of *God having raised up Christ*, he says, “*the di-* “*vine Paul often speaks in a low style ; say-* “*ing, That the Father raised up Christ †.*”

Theophylact, commenting on Heb. i. says, “*Why did he not say that Christ spake* “*to us ? It was both because they were* “*weak, and not yet able to hear concerning* “*Christ, and to shew, that the Old and the* “*New Testament have the same author ‡.*”

I shall now proceed to shew, that, in the opinion of the same Fathers, the apostles thought it necessary to observe the same caution in teaching the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to the Gentiles, that had been requisite with respect to the Jews.

* Και εισακουσθεις . Τουσιν, φησιν, εσηκουσθη, ολι κη ανεστη . τελος δε ειπε δια την ασθενειαν των ακουοντων, επω μεγαλας εχοντων περι χριστη δεξας . Των δε ταπεινων τετων ρηματων δυο αυτια, ητε *Carz*, κη η ασθενεια των ακουοντων . In Heb. vol. 2. p. 349.

† Πολλαχη γαρ ταπεινοτερα ο *θειος* Παυλος φθειγόμενος, τον πατερα φησιν αναστησαι τον χριστον . Ibid. p. 310.

‡ Δια τι δε ειπεν, ελαλησεν ημιν ο *χριστος* ; Αμα μεν, δια το ασθενεις ειναι αυτης . κη μηπω δυνασθαι ακουσαι περι της χριστη . αμα δε κη δεινυνων, ειη η παλαια κη η καινη, ενος εστι κη τε αυτη . Vol. 2. p. 876.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Caution observed by the Apostles in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ to the Gentile Converts.

THE apostles found the Jews fully persuaded concerning the doctrine of the divine unity, and on that account they are represented by the Fathers as cautious how they taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, lest their hearers should have been staggered at it, as if they had preached two Gods. The Gentiles were in a quite different situation, believing in a multiplicity of Gods; on which account it might be thought to require less caution to teach this favourite doctrine to them. But then, for the same reason for which it was thought improper for Moses and the prophets to teach it to the Jews, in the former periods of their history, when they were in danger of falling into idolatry, it was equally improper to insist upon it with the Gentiles, lest they should have been encouraged to persevere

in the same system. Also, after they were brought to the worship of one God, they would have been no less averse to such a doctrine as the trinity than the Jews. On this account it was not less hazardous, according to Chrysostom, to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to the Gentiles than it had been to the Jews.

In the passage, part of which I have quoted above, after observing, that if the apostles had not conducted themselves in this cautious manner with respect to the Jews, their whole doctrine would have appeared incredible to them, he adds, “ and at Athens Paul calls
“ him” (Jesus) “ simply a man, and nothing
“ farther, and for a good reason. For if
“ they often attempted to stone Christ him-
“ self, when he spake of his equality with
“ the Father, and called him on that account
“ a blasphemer, they would hardly have re-
“ ceived this doctrine from fishermen, espe-
“ cially after speaking of him as crucified.
“ And why do I speak of the Jews? when
“ at that time even the disciples of Christ
“ himself were often disturbed and scanda-
“ lized at him, when they heard sublime
“ doctrines

“doctrines; on which account he said, *I have many things to say to you, but ye are not yet able to bear them.* And if they could not bear these things, who had lived so long with him, and had received so many mysteries, and seen so many miracles, how could men, who were then first taken from their altars, idols, and sacrifices, and cats, and crocodiles (for such was the worship of the heathens) and being then first brought off from these abominations, readily receive sublime doctrines *?”

Theodoret, commenting on 1 Cor. viii. 6. *To us there is one God the Father, and one*

* Εν δὲ Ἀθηναῖς καὶ ἀνδρωπὸν αὐτὸν ἀπλῶς καλεῖ ὁ Παῦλος, ὅδε πλεονεῖπων. εἰκότως, εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν χριστὸν διαλεγόμενον περὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πάρεργα ἰστορήσας, διδάσκειτο πολλὰς ἐπιχειρήσαν, καὶ βλασφημῶν διὰ τὸ ἐκαλεῖν, σχολή γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰσίων τὸν λόγον ἐδεξάμενος, καὶ τὸν ταυροῦ προχωρητῆς. Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τῆς Ἰουδαίας * ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε πολλὰς οἱ μαθήται τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων ἀκροῦντες ἐδιδόσαντο καὶ ἐσκουδαλίζοντο. διὰ τὸ καὶ εἰλεγε πολλὰ ἐχὼ λέγειν ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἐδυνασθε βασιλεῖν ἀρεῇ. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ συγγενομένοι χρόνον τοσούτον, καὶ τοσούτων κοινονισάντες ἀποργήτων, καὶ τοσαύτα θεασάμενοι θαυμάσια, πῶς ἀνδρωπὸι ἀποβῶντων, καὶ εἰδῶντων, καὶ θυσιῶν, καὶ αἰσίων, καὶ κροκοδείλων, τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐλλήνων σεβασμῶν; καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν τότε πρῶτον ἀποσπασθέντες, ἀδύνατον τῆς ὑψηλῆς τῶν δογματικῶν ἐδεξάμενος λόγους. In Acta, Hom. 1. Opera, vol. 8. p. 447.

Lord Jesus Christ, says, “ Here he calls the
 “ one *God*, and the other *Lord*, lest he
 “ should give those who were just freed
 “ from heathenism, and had learned the
 “ truth, a pretence for returning to their
 “ heathenism and idolatry*.”

Œcumenius, on the same place, says,
 “ The apostle speaks cautiously concerning
 “ the Father and the Son, calling the Father
 “ the one God, lest they should think there
 “ were two Gods; and the Son the one
 “ Lord, lest they should think there were
 “ two Lords. For if he had said *God and*
 “ *God*, the Greeks, from their ignorance,
 “ would have thought it had been poly-
 “ theism; or if he had said *Lord and Lord*,
 “ they would have thought there were many
 “ Lords. This is the reason why he now
 “ says, that the Father was God, and the
 “ Son Lord. For he had premised that with
 “ us there was but one God. Had he called
 “ both the Father and the Son God, and

* Εὐλαβῶτα μέντοι τὸν μὲν θεὸν προσηγορεύσει, τὸν δὲ κυρίον ὅτινα μὴ τοῖς ἐναλχὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης ἀπαλλαγῇσι, καὶ τὴν ἀληθεῖαν μείζονα μαθῇσι, παρασχη προφασιν εἰς τὴν πολυθεὸν ἐξαπατῆν παλινδρομήσαι.
 In *Loc. Opera*, vol. 3. p. 158.

“ Lord, he would have been found acting
 “ contrary to his own affirmation to the
 “ Greeks, and would have appeared to have
 “ introduced many Gods, and many Lords.
 “ Therefore he calls the Father God, and
 “ the Son Lord ; condescending to the state
 “ of novices in the Greeks*.” Again,
 speaking of God having raised Christ from
 the dead, he says, “ the apostle herein con-
 “ descends to them as children, not that
 “ Christ was not able to raise himself † ;”
 Theodoret also, in his exposition of 1 Cor.
 15. in which the apostle says, that *the Son*
 “ *was subject to the Father*, says, “ the divine
 “ apostle, fearing the evil that might arise

* Διο και εως ασφαλως τε πατερας και τε υις εμνησθη • τον μεν
 πατερα ειπων ενα θεον, ινα μη δυο θεος νομισωσι, τον και υιον ενα κυ-
 ριον, ινα μη δυο κυρις νομισωσιν • ει γαρ ειπε θεον και θεον, πολυθειαν
 αν εξ απειριας ενομισαν Ελληνες, η κυριον και κυριον, πολυκυριοθια αν
 ενομισαν . ωτε και τε νυν ειπειν θεον πατερα και κυριον τον υιον αυτη η
 αιτια . ην γαρ υποσχομενος παρ’ ημιν ενα θεον ειναι . ει εν ειπεν και
 τον πατερα και τον υιον, θεον η κυριον, παλιν ευρισκειο τη οικεια υπο-
 σχεςει οσον προς Ελληνας εναλιεμενος, και πολυθειαν η πολυκυριοθια
 καλα το φαινομενον εισαγων . διο θεον ειπων τον πατερα, κυριον ειπε
 τον υιον, τη νηπιόθῃ συγκαταβαινων των Ελληνων. Opera, vol. 1.
 p. 492.

† Ο δε θεος κ’ τον κυριον ηγειρεν. Εἰ νηπιοὺς εἰσιν, εἰδὲ συγκατα-
 βαινειν, και προς την νηπιόθῃα αυτων λαλειν . μη θορυβηθης ακουσας οτι
 ο θεος τον χριστον ηγειρεν . ε γαρ επει εκ ισχυος εν αυτον εγειραι, τῷ
 φησιν. Ibid. p. 469.

“ from

“ from the Grecian mythology, added these
 “ things, speaking in low terms for their
 “ advantage *.”

According to Œcumenius, those whom John, in his first epistle, addresses as *children*, were those who were acquainted with the humanity of Christ only, as the grown men were those who knew his divinity. Of the latter he says, that “ they knew him
 “ that was from the beginning. But who
 “ is from the beginning, but God the logos,
 “ who was in the beginning with God?” He represents him as explaining his own meaning in the following manner: “ Since
 “ I knew that you will receive my writings
 “ according to the difference in your ages, I
 “ must measure my doctrine according to your
 “ ages, and discourse with some as children
 “ who know the Father,” he means God the Father only; “ but to others as fathers, who
 “ know more than the children, and not as
 “ the father only, but as without origin and
 “ unsearchable, for he was in the begin-
 “ ning. To these I must address more per-

* Ο μὲν ὡν θεῖος ἀποστολὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μυθολογίας φου-
 μένην υφ' ὀρωμένος βλάβην, ταῦτα προσεδείκε, ταπεινῶτερος χρησάμενος
 λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὠφελείαν. Opera, vol. 3. p. 201.

“fect discourses*.” Inconsistently, however, with this, he says, that “by those who *deny the Son*, in this epistle, are meant “they who say that Christ was a mere “man;” and yet he says, that “by those “who *denied that Jesus was the Christ*, were “meant the Gnostics.”

Theophylact, commenting on 1 Cor. i. 8. says, “Since Paul was writing to the “Greeks, who worshipped many Gods, “and many Lords, on this account he “does not call the Son God, lest they “should think there were two Gods, as “being accustomed to polytheism. Nor “did he call the Father Lord, lest they “should think there were many Lords. “For the same reason he made no mention

* Οἷς καὶ εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μαρτυρεῖ. τίς δὲ ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὃς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Ἐπεὶ κηρύσσουσιν ὑμᾶς οἶδα κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἡλικίων διχοφασίας δεξιόμενος τὰ παρ' ἐμὲ γραφόμενα, ἀναβῆναι καὶ μετὰ παραμετρησάμενοι τὴν διαθεσὴν τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν τὴν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὡς παῖδισι ἐπεγνώκοσι τὸν πατέρα (λέγει δὲ τὸν θεόν) διαλεχθῆναι. τοῖς δὲ ὡς πατέρας, οἱ πλεονέχουσι τῶν παίδων κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν, τὸ μὴ ὡς πατέρας μόνον ἐπεγνώκεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀναρχὸς καὶ ἀδιεξίτητος. ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ. τοῖς δὲ καὶ τελεωτέροις ἀξίον παραθεσὶν ποιήσασθαι λόγῳ. In John, Opera, vol. 2. p. 570.

“ of the Holy Spirit, sparing the weakness
 “ of his hearers ; as the prophets do not
 “ mention the Son clearly, on account of
 “ the Jews, lest they should think of a
 “ generation with passion*.” In his Com-
 mentary on 1 Col. i. 12. he observes, that
 “ Paul mentions giving thanks to the Fa-
 “ ther only. He does the same,” he says,
 “ in the epistle to the Corinthians, bring-
 “ ing them gradually to the doctrine con-
 “ cerning the Son †.”

The same writer, in his Commentary on
 1 Tim. ii. 5. *There is one God, and one me-
 diator between God and Man, the man Christ
 Jesus*, says, “ he does not speak plainly
 “ concerning the deity of Christ, because
 “ polytheism then abounded, and lest he

* Αλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἑλληνας ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ, πολυθεϊαν
 πρεσβευούσας καὶ πολυκυριοῦντάς· διὰ τούτο, ἔφη καὶ τὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ
 εἶπεν, ἵνα μὴ δύο θεοὺς νομισώσιν, ἀλλ’ πολυθεΐαν ἐνείθισμε-
 νοί· ἔφη καὶ τὸν πατέρα κυρίον, ἵνα μὴ πολλὰς κυρίας καὶ παρ
 ἡμῖν εἶναι δοξώσι. Διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, εἶδε τε πνευ-
 μαλὸς ἐμνησθῆναι ἐνλαύδα, φειδομένους τῆς ἀδυναμίας τῶν ἀκού-
 ῶν· ὡς περὶ καὶ οἱ προφῆται τε υἱὸς σαφὸς καὶ μεμνηνῆται, διὰ τὰς
 Ἰουδαίους, ἵνα μὴ ἐμπαθῇ νομισώσι τὴν γεννησιν. Opera,
 vol. 2. p. 226.

† Οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ποιεῖ. Ἡρεμα δὲ ἐμβρι-
 ζάσει αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς λόγον, Vol. 2. p. 631.

“ should

“ should be thought to introduce many
 “ gods ; where, though he says, *one and*
 “ *one*, he does not put them together, and
 “ say *two*, but only *one and one*. Such is
 “ the caution of the scriptures. On this
 “ account he makes no mention of the
 “ Spirit, lest he should seem to be a poly-
 “ theft*.”

Such abundant evidence as this, when there is nothing to oppose to it (and many more passages to the same purpose might, I doubt not, be collected, if it could be thought that they were at all wanting) must surely satisfy all the impartial, that, in the opinion of the christian Fathers, the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were considered as being of such a nature, as that it would not have been prudent to risk the communication of them either with Jews or Gentiles, on their first

* Ουκ ειπε δε φανεως κ' περὶ της θεοτητος το χριστο, επειδ' η πολυθεια τοτε κρατει, κ' ινα μη νομισθῃ κ' αυτος πολλους θεους παρεισαγειν. οπερ ε' εδε το, εις κ' εις, οταν λεγῃται, προσηκει συντιθεναι, κ' λεγειν δυο, αλλα εις κ' εις. τοσαυτη γαρ η ευλαβεια της γραφης. δια τ'ετο εκ εμνησθη εδε το πνευματος, ινα μη δοξη πολυθεος ειναι. Vol. 2. p. 757.

conversion to christianity. And the plain inference from this is, that the orthodox Fathers must necessarily have supposed, that the christian church, in general, was at first unitarian, and that it continued to be so a considerable time. For none of them say, or hint, when this caution on the part of the apostles ceased; and they represent them as using it in the very latest of their writings, as in those from Paul after his confinement at Rome, and therefore not long before the destruction of Jerusalem. At that time, therefore, they must have thought that the great body of christians were unitarians, and without being considered as heretics on that account.

But the most decisive proof of this is their universally concluding, that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were never taught clearly and explicitly till it was done by John, in the introduction to his gospel, which they supposed to have been published among the last of the books of the New Testament, and after the death of the other apostles.

C H A P T E R VII.

Of John being thought to have been the first who clearly and boldly taught the doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

AS this is an article of considerable consequence, I shall produce a redundancy of evidence in support of it ; nothing being better calculated to satisfy us, that, in the opinion of the christian fathers, the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were not generally received in the life-time of the other apostles ; and, therefore, that simple unitarianism could not have been considered as any heresy in the early ages. These authorities I shall produce, as I have generally done others, nearly in the order of time in which the writers flourished. I shall only first observe, that John seems to have got the title of θεολογος, *divine*, from this circumstance, of his teaching the doctrine of the divine logos, which was supposed to be peculiar to him. This
 3 appellation

appellation is given to him in the title to the book of Revelation. It is mentioned by Athanasius in his *Sermo Major de Fide**, and also by Cyril of Alexandria†. For a similar reason Isaiah is stiled Theologus by Eusebius, in *Is.* xxiv. 10.‡

I shall also remind my reader in this place, that this hypothesis of John having taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in the introduction of his gospel, does not occur in the earliest writers. These being nearer to the source of information, say that John had a view to the Gnostics only, both in his epistles, and the introduction to his gospel. This was the opinion of Irenæus, who wrote about the year 170; for which see this work, vol. I. p. 253. The first writer who says that John meant the unitarians, I believe, was Origen.

* Montfaucon's *Collectio*, vol. 2. p. 13.

† Hom. *Opera*, vol. 2. p. 75.

‡ Montfaucon's *Collectio*, vol. 2. p. 450.

SECTION I.

The Acknowledgments of the Christian Fathers that John was the first who taught the doctrines above-mentioned.

ORIGEN, though a zealous defender of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, yet, as will appear in its proper place, only considered them as more sublime doctrines, fit for the more perfect christians. He says, that “ John
“ alone introduced the knowledge of the
“ eternity of Christ to the minds of the
“ Fathers*.” “ John himself was transformed into God, and so became partaker
“ of the truth, and then pronounced that
“ the *word* of God was in God from the
“ beginning†.”

* Joannes sola ejus æterna in notitiam fidelium animarum introducit. Opera, vol. 2. p. 428.

† Sanctus itaque theologus in deum transmutatus, veritatis particeps, domini verbum subsistere in deo principio, hoc est deum filium in deo patre, pronunciat, . Ibid.

“No one,” says this writer, “taught the
 “divinity of Christ so clearly as John, who
 “presents him to us, saying, *I am the light*
 “*of the world, I am the way, the truth, and*
 “*the life, I am the resurrection, I am the*
 “*gate, I am the good shepherd,* and in the
 “Revelation, *I am the alpha and the omega,*
 “*the beginning and the end, the first and the*
 “*last.* We may therefore boldly say, that,
 “as the gospels are the first fruits” (or the
 “most excellent part) “of the scriptures,
 “so the gospel of John is the first fruits of
 “the gospels; the sense of which no per-
 “son can conceive, except he who reclines
 “on the breast of Jesus, and who receives
 “from Jesus his mother Mary, and makes
 “her his own. He must be another John,
 “who was shewn by Jesus as another Jesus.
 “For he who is perfect does not himself
 “live, but Christ lives in him. And since
 “Christ lives in him, he says to Mary con-
 “cerning him, Behold thy Son, Christ
 “himself*.”

* Ουδεις γαρ εκεινων ανεβλεψεν αυτη την θεοτητα
 ως Ιωαννης, παρσησας αυτον λεγοντα, εγω ειμι το φως το
 κοσμου, εγω ειμι η οδος, κη η αληθεια, κη η ζωη. εγω ειμι η
 αναστασις.

The meaning of this is, that, to have the knowledge of the sublime doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, as taught by John, a man must be a christian *of the first class and rank*, far above the ordinary sort. He must be a second John, and a second Jesus, imbibing their spirit, and entering into their most profound meaning.

Eusebius, says, that “ John began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that being reserved for him, as the most worthy *.”

But he who wrote the most largely, and the most eloquently on this subject is Chry-

αναστασις . εγω ειμι η θυρα, εγω ειμι ο ποιμην ο καλος . και εν τη αποκαλυψει, εγω ειμι το α και το ω, η αρχη η το τελος, ο πρωτος η ο εσχατος . τολμητεον τοιουν ειπειν απ αρχην μεν πασων γραφων ειναι τα ευαγγελια, των δε ευαγγελιων απ αρχην το κατα Ιωαννην, & τον νυν εδεις δυναται λαβειν μη αναπεσων επι το σηνδον Ιησε, μηδε λαβων απο Ιησε την Μαρναν γενομενην η αυτη μητερα; η τηλικετον δε γενεσθαι δει τον εσομενον αλλον Ιωαννην, ως τε οιονει τον Ιωαννην διεχθηναι οντα Ιησεν απο Ιησε—και γαρ πας ο τετελειωμενος η εκετι, αλλ’ εν αυτω η χριστος, και επει η εν αυτω χριστος, λεγεται περι αυτης τη Μαρνα, ιδε ο υιος ο χριστος. Comment. in Johan. vol. 2. p. 5.

* Της δε θεολογιας απαρξασθαι, ως αν αυτω προς τα θεις πνευματος οια κρειττονη παραπεφυλαγμενης . ταυτα μεν εν ημιν περι της τε κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιας γραφης ειρησθω. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 117.

softom. And it will be seen that the greatness of the mystery, its alarming appearance to the Jews, and the extreme caution of the evangelists and apostles in divulging it, gave him great scope for magnifying the courage of John, in teaching what the other apostles had only ventured to hint at, and which was reserved for him, as the *son of thunder*, and whose emblem was *the eagle*, to express his soaring higher than any other that had gone before him.

“ John,” he says, “ alone taught the eternal and super-celestial wisdom*.” “ John first lighted up the lamp of theology; and all the most distant churches running to it, lighted up their lamps of theology, and returned rejoicing, saying, *In the beginning was the logos*†.”

Chrysostom represents all the preceding writers of the New Testament as children, who heard, but did not understand things, “ and who were busy about cheese-cakes

* Μένος την αιωνιον κ' υπερκοσμιον φιλοσοφian κηρύξας. In John i, Opera, vol. 6. p. 235.

† Πρώτη αναφασα τον της θεολογιας λυχνον, πασαι των περαιων αι εκκλησαι προς σε δραμεσαι, εκαστη την εαυτης λαμπαδα την θεολογian αιτησε, κ' υπερεψε χαιρεσα, εν αρχη ην ο λογος. Ibid. p. 604.

“ and

“last, advanced to the doctrine of the logos,” or the divinity of Christ*.

“*In the beginning was the word.* This doctrine was not published at first, for the world would not receive it. Wherefore Matthew, Mark, and Luke” (John is here added, but it must be an interpolation) “began at a distance. When they began the preaching, they did not immediately say what was becoming his dignity, but what would suit the hearers. Matthew, beginning his gospel, says, *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.* Why does he not say the son of God?”

* Πάντες οὖν ἐχώρησαν εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν, καὶ ἡρεμα πῶς, διὰ τῶν θανάτων, ἐγνωρίζον τὴν ἀξίαν. Ἐκρυπτεῖτο δὲ εἰ τε δεῖ λόγῳ ἀξιωμα, Ἐκρυπτεῖτο δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἔελη, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁρθῆς δόξης ἐπιλείχισμα ἔδετοίε τῷ κηρυγματὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐγγεγρό. Ἰωάννης τοῦτον. ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροτῆς, τελευταίος, παρηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θεολογίαν. De Sigillis, Op. vol. 6. p 173. N. B. The sense of the passage absolutely requires *ἐκρυπτεῖτο* and not *ἐκηρυττεῖτο* in both the clauses, and in the latter it is so rendered by the Latin translator, though not in the former. The observation, that the first verses in the gospel of John are a refutation of all heresies is common with the Fathers. No person, except one who is pretty well conversant with them, can imagine how often those verses occur in their writings.

“Why

“ Why does he conceal his dignity by poor
 “ language? Why does he conceal from
 “ men the things relating to his deity?
 “ He answers, I am preaching to the Jews,
 “ who do not even believe him to be
 “ a good man. They would not believe
 “ Christ to be the son of Abraham, and
 “ will they believe his being called the son
 “ of God?—The blessed Mark, also, when
 “ he applied himself to writing a gospel,
 “ taking courage from what had been done
 “ before” (meaning perhaps, by Matthew)
 “ calls him *the Son of God*; but he imme-
 “ diately contracts his discourse, and cuts
 “ short what he had intended to say, that
 “ he might soothe his hearers. He there-
 “ fore, introduces what he had to say, con-
 “ cerning the Baptist, saying, *The begin-
 “ ning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is
 “ written in Isaiah the prophet, &c.*”

“ Luke follows in the third place, and
 “ goes a middle way. He touches upon
 “ the doctrine of the logos, but does not ex-
 “ plain, or unfold his dignity; but says,
 “ *Since many have undertaken to give an ac-
 “ count of what has come to pass among us, it*

“seemed good to me also, who have attended
 “to every thing from the beginning, to write
 “in order as has been delivered to us, by those
 “who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the
 “logos. But though he mentions the lo-
 “gos, he did not say that the logos was
 “God. What then does he do? Touch-
 “ing upon the subject, and considering that
 “he was speaking in the ears of the dead,
 “he conceals his dignity, and brings on
 “the œconomy,” i. e. the doctrine of the
 incarnation or humanity of Christ. “There
 “was a priest Zacharias, &c.”

“John, therefore, the son of thunder,
 “last of all advanced to the doctrine of his
 “divinity, after those three heralds; and
 “with great propriety he followed them,
 “and they went before, lightening a little,
 “as the lightning precedes the thunder, lest
 “bursting from the clouds at once it should
 “stun the hearer.—They therefore lighten-
 “ed the *œconomy*, or the humanity of Christ,
 “but he thundered out the *theology*,” that
 is, the doctrine of Christ’s divinity*.

* Εν αρχη ην ο λογος . εκ ευδus τειροεκηρυχθη . Ου γαρ εχωρει ο
 κοσμος . μακραν ημιν οι ευαγγελισται Ματθαιος, Μαρκος, Λουκας, &
 Ιωαννης.

Again, he introduces John as holding a soliloquy with himself, and saying, after

Ἰωάννης. Οἱς ἤρξαντο τε κηρυγμαῖος, ἐκ εὐδὺς ἐλάλησαν τὰ πρεποῖλα τῇ ἀξίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀρμοζόντα τοῖς ἀκροῦμενοις. ὁ Μαΐθαιος, ἀρχὴν ποιήσας τῶν εὐαγγελίων, λέγει. βίβλος γένεσεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαβὶδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. διὰ τί, μὴ υἱὸς θεοῦ; διὰ τί πῶχῃ λέξει κρυπτεῖς τὴν ἀξίαν; διὰ τί τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ θεῖα καλυπτεῖς; πᾶσα Ἰσραὴλ φησὶ κηρυτῶ, τοῖς μὴ ἀνθρώπων δικαίον εἶναι πιστεῦσαι. Τὸν χριστὸν υἱὸν Ἀβραάμ ἔπω ἐδέξαντο, καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγελλομένον ἀνεξόνται.— Πάλιν ὁ μακάριος Μάρκος καθεὶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ θάρσας τοῖς προγεγυμνασμένοις, λέγει μὲν υἱὸν θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς συνετίλει τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἐκολοῦσε τὴν ἐννοίαν, ἵνα μαλαξῇ τὸν ἀκροατὴν. Ἐπαγεῖ ἐν εὐδῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν βαπτίστην λεγόν, ἀρχὴ τῆς εὐαγγελίας Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καθὼς γεγραπταὶ ἐν Ἠσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ.—Ὁ Ἀβιάς ἀκολουθεῖ τρίτος, καὶ μέσος χωρεῖ μετὰ τῶν, καὶ ἀπείλει μὲν τὸ θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ μὴν ἐρμηνεύει καὶ ἀναπύσσει τὴν ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ φησιν, ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀναβιβασθαι διηγήσιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, ἐδόξε καί μοι παρακολοῦσθαι τοῖς πασὶν ἀπαρχῆς γραφαί, καθὼς παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοπτεῖν, καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν γενομένοι τῷ λόγῳ. ἀλλὰ λόγον μὲν εἶπεν, καὶ εἶπε δὲ ὅτι καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. τί ἐν καὶ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ; ἀφάμενος τὸ εἶναι, καὶ ἐννοήσας, ὅτι νεκραῖς αἰσῶσις ἐνηχί, κρυπτεῖ τὴν ἀξίαν, καὶ προσφέρει τὴν οικονομίαν. ἐγενεῖο ἱερεὺς Ζαχαρίας. καὶ τὰ εἰς τῆς εὐαγγελίας. Ἰωάννης τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς τελευταῖος παρηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θεολογίαν. μετὰ τῶς τρεῖς ἐκεῖναις κηρυκῶν, καὶ εἰκότως ὁ μὲν ἠκολούθησεν, οἱ δὲ προελάθον, τὰ μικρὰ τῶς ἀσφαπτοῦτες, ὥσπερ γὰρ τῆς βροντῆς προηγείται ἀσφαπτή, ἵνα μὴ ἀδρῶσιν ἐκεῖνη ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ραγεῖσα πλῆξῃ τὸν ἀκροῦντα. Οὕτως ἐπειδὴ ἐμελλε βροντᾶν ὁ Ἰωάννης, προελάθον οἱ τρεῖς εὐαγγελισταὶ δίκην ἀσφάπτων, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤσφατσαν τὴν οικονομίαν, ὁ δὲ βροντᾶ τὴν θεολογίαν. De Sigillis, Opera, vol. 6. p. 171, &c.

considering the progress of heresy, “ Why
“ do I delay ? Why have I any longer pa-
“ tience ? Why do I not bring forth the
“ mystery hid from ages ? Why do I hide
“ in myself, the wisdom which was before
“ the ages, which I derive from the im-
“ mortal fountain on which I lean ? Why
“ do I not publish what angels are ignorant
“ of ? Why do I hide from the ends of
“ the earth what no one knows, except the
“ Father ? Why do I not write what Mat-
“ thew, and Mark, and Luke, through a
“ wise and praise-worthy fear, passed in
“ silence, according to the orders that were
“ given them. How shall I speak what
“ was given me freely from above ? Mat-
“ thew, according to what was granted to
“ him, wrote according to his ability.
“ Mark, and Luke, in like manner, accord-
“ ing to the supply of the Spirit, have writ-
“ ten their books in a becoming manner.
“ I also will write, and add to those before,
“ the fourth fountain of life. For there
“ remains to the divine voice the discourses
“ of *the divinity*, and the world is in dan-
“ ger

“ger on this quarter. I will write a book
 “which will stop the mouths of all, who
 “speak unjustly of God. I will write a
 “book which will hide all the wisdom of
 “the world. I will write a book which
 “shall not be confined to what concerns
 “man. For the church is provided with
 “what Moses wrote concerning these
 “things, about the heavens and the earth,
 “&c.

“But I, leaving all things which have
 “come to pass from time, and in time,
 “will speak of that which was without
 “time, and is uncreated, about the logos
 “of God, which was generated from the
 “Father in an ineffable manner, about
 “which Moses dared not to speak. But
 “I am able to do all things, through Christ
 “who strengthens me.”

“The apostle John having reasoned thus
 “within himself, and having the pen of a
 “writer in his hand, and considering how
 “to begin the theology, rejoicing in spirit,
 “but with a trembling hand, is carried up-
 “wards, being in the body at Ephesus, but
 “with a pure heart and holy spirit leaves

“the earth,” &c. Then representing himself as carried up into heaven, he says, that “fishing out of the Father’s bosom the doctrine of the divinity, he wrote in his body on earth, *In the beginning was the logos, &c.*.*”

* Ελογιζέτο εν εαυτώ λεγων, τι αναβαλλομαι; τι φησι μακροθυμω εἶ; τι & προσφέρω εις μεσον το απο των αιωνων κεκρυμμενον μυστηριον; τι αποκρυβω εαυτώ την απο των αιωνων σοφίαν, ην εκ της αθανάτης πηγης επιπεσων ειληκσα; τι & δηροσιευω, ον αγγελιοι αγνοοσι; τι εκ αποκαλυπτω τοις περασι, ον υδεις επιγινωσκει, ει μη ο πατήρ; τι & γραφω, οπερ Ματθαίος & Μαρκος & Λουκας δι επαινεσμενην δειλίαν παρρασιωπησαντες παρεδραμον, τελεσαντες τα προτεταγμενα αυτοις; οθεν λαλήσω καγω καία την δοδειςαν μοι δωρεαν ανωθεν. Ματθαίος; μεν οσον εχωρει, εγραφε καία την ιδίαν δύναμιν, Μαρκος δε & Λουκας ομοίως καία την τς αγις πνευματος χορηγίαν τας εαυτών βιβλους θεοπρεπώς εδογματισαν. γραφω καγω & προσδεσω τοις εμπροσθεν την τέλει-την πηγην την ζωής. λειπει γαρ εις θεοσυτάλιον φωνην ο περι θεολογίας λογος, & κινδυνευει ο κοσμος εν τω μερει τειω. γραφω βιβλον, δι ης εμφραγη των σομα λαλουν καλα θεον αδιμιαν. γραφω βιβλον την καλυπτόςαν πασαν εν κοσμω σοφίαν. γραφω βιβλον & περι ανθρωπου διηγεμενην. & γαρ λειπει τη εκκλησία, α περι τςτων εγραφε Μωσής; περι εράνης τε & γης & θαλασσων & ιχθυων & πτερινων & τετραποδων, & ερπειων & φυων & σπερματων & φωτηρων & βρωματων & λοιπης κτισεως; εγω δε παντα τα απο χρόνης & εν χρόνω γινόμενα καταλείψας λαλήσω περι τς αχρών & αήτης, τς προ παντων των αιωνων εκ τς πατρός αρετήως γεννηθέντος θεος λογος, περι & Μωσής υιος ειπεν εκ ισχυρσεν. εγω δε παντα ισχυω εν τω ενδυναμωμι με χριστω. ταυτα εν εαυτώ σκεπτομενος ο αποτολος Ιωαννης & τον γραφικον καταμον εν τη χειρι καίεχων, & ινσαν πως της θεολογίας αρέτηται. χαίρων μεν τη ψυχη. τρεμων δε τη

Chrysostom introduces Matthew also reasoning on the subject of his saying so little, or rather nothing, of the divinity of Christ; and indeed, according to his account, it was a very dangerous and hazardous topic.—“Now,” says he, “let us awake, and arise, “Behold the gates are open to us, but let us “enter with great regularity, and with “trembling; first passing the outer court. “What is the outer court? The book of “the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of “David, the son of Abraham. What is “that you say?” (says the hearer) “You “promised to discourse concerning the “only begotten Son of God, and now you “talk of David, a man who lived a thousand generations ago, and say, that he was “his father and ancestor? Hold” (says the evangelist) “and do not expect to learn “every thing immediately; but slowly, and “by degrees: For you are yet in the outer “court, and only near the gate; and why “are you in haste to get into the innermost

χειρι, μέλαρσιος γινέται, καὶ τῷ σωμάτι ἐν Ἐφεσῶν, τῇ καθάρᾳ καρδίᾳ
τῷ πνεύματι μέλειωρος ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ἐκ τῆ παλαιοῦς κολπῆς τὴν θεολογίαν
ἀλιευσας, τῷ σωμάτι καὶ ὡς ἐγράφεν, ἐναρχῇ ἣν ὁ λόγος. De Jo-
hanne, Opera, vol. 6. p. 606, &c.

But this was far short of the eternal generation from the Father.

“ Do not think,” says this writer, “ that
 “ you understand every thing, when you are
 “ informed that he was conceived by the
 “ Spirit; for there are many things of
 “ which we are yet ignorant, and which we
 “ have to learn; as how he who is infinite
 “ can be comprehended in a woman; how
 “ he who sustains all things can be carried

τε μονογενες υιος τε θεος διαλεξασθαι επηγγειλω, κη τε Δαβιδ μνημο-
 νευεις, ανθρωπος μετα μυριας γενεας γενομενος: κη αυτον ειναι φης, και
 πατερα και προγονον: επισχες, και μη παιδια αθροως ζηλει μαδειν,
 αλλ' ηρεμα κη καλα μικρον. εν γαρ τοις προδυροισ εσηκας ει παρ αυτα
 τα προφυλαια. τι τοιουν σπευδεις προς τα αυτα. εγω τα εξω καλως
 κατωπλευσας απαντα. εδε γαρ εκεινην σοι τεως διηγμαι την γεννησιν.
 μαλλον δε εδε την μελα ταυτα. ανεκφρατος γαρ κη απορρητος. Την
 γενεαν αυτη τις διηγησει; ε τοιουν περι εκεινης ημιν ο λογος νυν, αλλα
 περι ταυτης της κατω, της εν τη γη γενομενης, της μετα μυριων μαρτυρων,
 κη περι ταυτης δε, ως ημιν δυνατον ειπειν δεξαμενοις την τε πνευματος
 χαριν, εγω διηγησομεθα. εδε γαρ ταυτην μελα σαφηνης πασης παρα-
 στησαι εν. επει κη αυτη φριμωδεστατη. μη τοιουν μικρα νομισης ακειν,
 ταυτην ακων την γεννησιν. αλλ' αναστησον σε την διανοιαν κη ευθεως
 φριξον, ακουσας οτι θεος επι γης ηλθεν, εγω γαρ τελος θαυμαστον κη παρα-
 δεξον ην, ως κη της αγγελος χορον υπερ τελων στητατης την υπερ της
 οικουμένης επι τολοις αναφερειν ευφημιαν. In Matt. 1. Opera,
 vol. 7, p. 12.

“ about

“ about by her; how a virgin can bring
 “ forth, and remain a virgin *.”

On this subject, which affords so much scope for eloquence, Epiphanius writes as follows: “ Wherefore the blessed John
 “ coming, and finding men employed about
 “ the humanity of Christ, and the Ebio-
 “ nites being in an error about the earthly
 “ genealogy of Christ, deduced from Abra-
 “ ham, carried by Luke as high as Adam,
 “ and finding the Cerinthians and Merin-
 “ thians maintaining that he was a mere
 “ man, born by natural generation of both
 “ the sexes, and also the Nazarenes, and
 “ many other heresies; as coming last (for
 “ he was the fourth to write a gospel) be-
 “ gan as it were to call back the wanderers,
 “ and those who were employed about the
 “ the humanity of Christ; and seeing some
 “ of them going into rough paths, leaving
 “ the strait and true path, cries, Whither
 “ are you going, whither are you walking,

* Μη δε νομισθῇς τὸ παν μεμαθῆκεναι, ἐκ πνεύματος ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔγνωρ πολλα ἀγνοοῦμεν ἐπὶ. Καὶ ταῦτα μαρτυροῦντες, οἷον πὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν μήτρᾳ ἐστίν; πὺς ὁ πάντα συνεχὴν κοφορεῖται ὑπο γυναικός; πὺς τικτεῖ ἢ παρθεῖν καὶ μετὰ παρθεῖν. In Matt. i. Opera, vol. 7. p. 31.

“ who

“ who tread a rough and dangerous path,
 “ leading to a precipice? It is not so. The
 “ God, the *logos*, which was begotten by
 “ the Father from all eternity, is not from
 “ Mary only. He is not from the time of
 “ Joseph, he is not from the time of Sala-
 “ thiel, and Zorobabel, and David, and Abra-
 “ ham, and Jacob, and Noah, and Adam;
 “ but *in the beginning was the logos, and the*
 “ *logos was with God, and the logos was God.*
 “ The *was*, and the *was*, and the *was*, do
 “ not admit of his having ever not been*.”

* Διο ὃ Ἰωάννης εἰδὼν ὁ μακαρίτης, ὃ εὗρον τες ἀνθρώπους
 πηλοποιημένους περὶ τὴν καλῶς χρεῖς παρυσίαν, ὃ τῶν ἱερατικῶν
 πλανηθέντων διὰ τὴν ἐσάρκον χρεῖς γενεαλογίαν, ἀπὸ
 Ἀβραὰμ κατὰγομένην, ὃ Λυκααναγομένην ἀχρὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, εὗρον
 δὲ Κηρινθίαντες, καὶ Μερνθίαντες, ἐκ παραβρίθης αὐτὸν λεγόντας
 εἶναι ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον, καὶ τες Ναζωραῖος, καὶ αἰτίας πολλὰς
 αἰρεσεῖς, ὡς καὶ ὅτιν ἐλθόν, τέλει γὰρ ἔλος εὐαγγελιζέσθαι,
 ἀρχεῖν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, ἀρεῖν, τες πλανηθέντας, καὶ πηλοποι-
 μένους περὶ τὴν καλῶς χρεῖς παρυσίαν, καὶ λεγόντων αὐτοῖς (ὡς
 καὶ ὅτιν εἰπὼν, καὶ ὅτιν τινὰς εἰς τρυφάνας ὁδὸς κεκληκότας
 καὶ ἀρεῖν τὴν εὐθείαν καὶ ἀληθινὴν, ὡς εἶπεν) ποῖ φερεθε,
 ποῖ βαδίζετε, οἱ τὴν τρυφάναν ὁδὸν καὶ σκαταλαλῶν καὶ εἰς
 χάσμα φερεσθῶν βαδίζοντες; ἀνακαμψατε. Οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτις, ἐκ
 ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Μαρίας μόνον ὁ θεὸς λόγος, οὐκ πατὴρ ἀναδὲν γε-
 γεννημένος, ἐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν χρωγῶν Ἰωσήφ τε ταύτης ὀφθαλμοῦ,
 ἐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν χρωγῶν Σαλαθιηλ, καὶ Ζοροβὰβηλ, καὶ Δαβὶδ,
 καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ Νῶε, καὶ Ἀδάμ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἀρχῆς ἦν
 ὁ λόγος

Another passage in this writer, in nearly the same words, may be seen, p. 433, 434.

Jerom says, “ John the apostle, whom Jesus loved, the son of Zebedee, and brother of James, who was beheaded by Herod after the death of Christ, wrote his gospel the last of all, at the intreaty of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus, and other heretics, and especially the doctrine of the Ebionites, then gaining ground, who said that Christ had no being before he was born of Mary, whence he was compelled to declare his divine origin *.”

Ambrose says, “ If you enquire concerning his celestial generation, read the gos-

ο λογος, και ο λογος ην προς τον θεον, και θεος ην ο λογος. το δε ην, και ην, και ην εκ υποδεχεται τε μη ειναι ποτε. Hær. 69. sect. 23. Opera, vol. 1. p. 747.

* Joannes Apostolus quem Jesus amavit plurimum, filius Zebedæi, frater Jacobi Apostoli, quem Herodes post passionem domini decollavit, novissimus omnium, scripsit evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis, adversus Cerinthus, aliosque hæreticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma confurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse, unde et compulsus est divinam ejus naturam edicere. Opera, vol. 1. p. 273.

“ pel

“ pel of John *.” “ If there be any other
 “ things,” says Austin, “ which intimate
 “ to the intelligent the divinity of Christ,
 “ in which he is equal to the Father, John
 “ almost alone has introduced them into
 “ his gospel ; as having drank more fami-
 “ liarly, and more copiously, the secret of
 “ his divinity, from the breast of our Lord,
 “ on which he was used to lean at meat †.”
 On this account he compares John to an
eagle ‡. “ The other evangelists,” he says,
 “ who treat of the humanity of Christ, were
 “ like animals that walk on the earth ; but
 “ John, contemplating the power of his
 “ divinity more sublimely, flies to heaven

* At vero de cælesta generatione si quæris lege evangelium sancti Joannis. In Luc. cap. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 26.

† Et si qua alia sunt quæ Christi divinitatem in qua æqualis est patri, recte intelligentibus intiment, pene solus Johannes in evangelio suo posuit : tanquam de pectore ipsius domini, super quod discumbere in ejus convivio solitus erat, secretum divinitatis ejus uberius et quodammodo familiarius biberit. De Consensu Evangelistarum, lib. 1. cap. 5. Opera, vol. 4. p. 374.

‡ Ibid. p. 528, 529.

“ with

“ with the Lord *.” “ But now, with an
 “ open voice, he says, that he is God, and
 “ was always with God, laying open the
 “ mystery of God †.”

A very particular and copious account of the pre-eminence of John, in consequence of his teaching the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, which had been omitted by the other evangelists, may likewise be seen in the epistle of Paulinus, which I put in the notes ‡.

* Cæteri quippe evangelistæ, qui temporalem Christi nativitatem et temporalia ejus facta, quæ gessit in homine, sufficienter exponunt, et de divinitate pauca dixerunt, quasi animalia gressibilia cum domino ambulant in terra: hic autem pauca de temporalibus ejus gestis edisserens, sed divinitatis potentiam sublimius contemplan, cum domino ad cœlum volat. In John Pref. Opera, vol. 9. p. 5. 275.

† Nunc autem aperta voce dicit eum esse deum et semper fuisse apud deum, sacramentum patefaciens dei. *Questions Mixtæ*, vol. 4. p. 858.

‡ Idem ultra omnium tempora apostolorum ætate producta postremus evangelii scriptor fuisse memoratur, ut sicut de ipso vas electionis ait, quasi columna firmamentum adjiceret fundamentis ecclesiæ, prioris evangelii scriptores consona auctoritate confirmans, ultimus auctor, in libri
 tempore,

Cyril of Alexandria says, that “ John “ was the first who taught more sublime “ things*.” Marius Mercator says, that the three former evangelists, having spoken of Christ as a man, John shewed him to be God †.”

tempore, sed primus in capite sacramenti, quippe qui solus e quatuor fluminibus ex ipso summo divini capitis fonte decurrens, de nube sublimi tonat : in principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum : transcendit Moysen, qui usque ad caput mundi et visibilium creaturarum exordia scientiæ terminos, et faciem mentis extendit. Iste et evangelistis cæteris, vel ab humano salvatoris ortu, vel a typico legis sacrificio, vel a prophetico præcursoris baptistæ præconio, resurrectionis evangelium exorsis, altius volans penetravit et coelos. Neque in angelis stetit, sed archangelos quoque et omnes desuper creaturas, virtutes, principatus, dominationes, thronos, supergressus, in ipsum se creatorem ardua mente direxit, et ab illa ineffabili generatione ordiens, et coeternum et consubstantiali, et co-omnipotentem, et co-opificem patri filium nunciavit. Ad Amandum. p. 213.

* Joannes theologus, tonitrui filius, cui divina dignatione concessum, ut supra dominicum pectus recubuerit, indeque nobis sublimiora ac divina hauserit dogmata : cum excellentem erga nos dei benignitatem commendare vellet, primumque quæ diviniora sunt dixisset, utpote ista, in principio erat verbum. Hom. Opera, vol. 2. p. 75.

† Post quam præfationem subdescendens, ut ostenderet quem illi tres evangelistæ hominem scripserant, esse etiam deum. Opera, p. 165.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, describing John as *theologus*, and the chief of the evangelists, says, that “ he wrote to supply the “ defects of the former evangelists, and “ especially in preaching clearly the divi- “ nity of Christ, making that the founda- “ tion of his work, all which had been “ omitted by the others. Wherefore, be- “ ginning at his divinity, he immediately “ passed to his humanity *.”

“ John,” says Nicephorus, “ did not give “ an account of the carnal generation of “ Jesus, but he first taught his divinity ; “ this being reserved for him, as the most “ worthy, by the Holy Spirit †.”

“ Wherefore, John,” says Theophylact, “ began with the divinity of Christ. For “ whereas others had made no mention of “ his existence before the ages, he taught

* Εξαιρέτως δε καὶ περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ χριστοῦ γενεαῶς κηρυξάς, θεμελίον τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγραφῆς αὐτῷ προτάξας ἅπερ ἅπαντα παραλείμμενα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν. ἀρξάμενος τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος, μετεληλυθεν εὐθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ. De Mundo, lib. 5. Montfaucon's Collectio, vol. 2. p. 248.

† Τῆς δὲ θεολογίας καταρχεται, οἷα τις κρείττονος πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ταμειευθείσης αὐτοῦ. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 45. vol. 1. p. 214.

“ that

“ that doctrine, lest the logos of God
 “ should have been thought to be a mere
 “ man, without any divinity*.” “ Again,”
 he says, “ John wrote lest men should never
 “ think highly concerning Christ, and ima-
 “ gine that he had no being before he was
 “ born of Mary, and that he was not gene-
 “ rated from God the Father, which was the
 “ case with Paulus Samosatensis †.” “ As
 “ John,” he says, “ has more lofty things
 “ of Christ than any other of the evange-
 “ lists, so he has recorded some of a lower
 “ nature ; to shew that, as he was God, so
 “ he was truly man ‡.”

Lastly, an account of John’s teaching the
 pre-existence and divinity of Christ, may

* Επει γαρ οι αλλοι εκ εμνησθησαν περι της περι αιωνων υπαρξεως
 τε θεε λογε, αυτις εδεολογησε περι ταυτης, ινα μη νομισθει ο τε θεε
 λογος ψιλος ανθρωπος ειναι. In Matt. Pref. vol. i. p. 1, 2.

† Θεος μεν ην μη ποτε τινες χαμαιπειεις η μηδεν υψηλον νοησαι
 δυναμενοι, νομισωσι τον χριστον ποτε πρωτον εις υπαρξιν ελθειν δι απο Μα-
 ριας εγεννηθη, η εκι προ αιωνων εκ τε πατρος γεννηθηναι, ο παντων
 πεπονθε Παυλ. ο Σαμοσατευς. In John, cap. i. vol. i. p. 553.

‡ Επει γαρ πασα παντας της ευαγγελισας υψηλοτερα
 περι τε κυριε φθεγγει, η θεολογει μεγαλα τινα, δια τετο
 η εν τοις σωματικοις πολυ ταπεινοτερα φθεγγεται. οθεν η
 εν τω πε.θει πολυ το ανθρωπινον εχειν φησιν, απο τετε

thought that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ had not been preached with any effect before the writing of John's gospel; and, consequently, that before that time the great body of christians must have been unitarians; and they are far from giving the least hint of any of them having been excommunicated on that account. On the other hand, the apprehension was, lest those who preached doctrines so new and offensive, as those of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, should have been rejected with abhorrence.

When we consider how late the three first gospels were written, the last of them not long before that of John, which was near, if not after, the destruction of Jerusalem, and that, in the opinion of the writers above-mentioned, all this caution and reserve had been necessary, till that late period, on the part of the christian teachers; how is it possible that, in their idea, the christian church in general should have been well established in the belief of our Lord's divinity? It could only have been great and open zeal on the part of the

apostles, and not the timid caution and management which these writers ascribe to them, that could have effectually taught a doctrine which, according to them, the people were ill prepared to receive. And the history of both Peter and Paul sufficiently prove that the influence of mere apostolical authority was not so great at that time as many persons now take it to have been. Whatever power they had, they were not considered as lords over the faith of christians.

The christians of that age required something more than the private opinion of an apostle. They required some super-natural evidence that his doctrine was from God; and we have no account of the apostles proposing to them this additional article of faith, and alledging any such evidence for it. Chrysostom says, “ if the Jews were
“ so much offended at having a new law
“ superadded to their former, how much
“ more would they have been offended, if
“ Christ had taught his own divinity.” May it not be supposed, therefore, that they would have required as particular evidence
of

of a divine revelation in the one case as in the other? And what remarkably strong evidence was necessary to convince them that the obligation of their law did not extend to the Gentiles? Would they, then, have received what Chrysostom considered as the more offensive doctrine of the two, without any pretence to a particular revelation on the subject?

It may be said, that all the caution of which we have been speaking was necessary with respect to the *unbelieving Jews* only, into whose hands these gospels, and the other writings of the New Testament, might fall. But how impossible must it have been to conceal from the unbelieving Jews the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, if it had been a favourite article with the believing Jews. If this had been the case, it could not but have been known to all the world; and, therefore, all the offence that it could have given would have been unavoidable. So that this supposed caution of the evangelists, &c. would have come too late, and would have answered no purpose whatever.

This caution, therefore, must necessarily have respected those persons into whose hands the gospels, &c. were most likely to come, and who would give the most attention to them; and these were certainly the believing Jews, and the christian world at large, and not unbelievers of any nation. We are authorised to conclude, that in the opinion of the writers who have spoke of it, of whatever weight that opinion may be, this caution in divulging the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was necessary with respect to the great body of christians themselves, and especially the Jewish christians. Consequently, they must have supposed, that at the time of these publications, which was about A. D. 64, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was not generally held by christians, and that there would have been danger of giving them great offence if at that time it had been plainly proposed to them by the apostles themselves. At this period, therefore, it may be inferred, that, in the opinion of these writers, the christian church was principally unitarian, believing only the
simple

simple humanity of Christ, and knowing nothing of his divinity or pre-existence.

From the acknowledgment which these orthodox Fathers could not help making (for certainly they would not do it unnecessarily) that there were great numbers of proper unitarians in the age of the apostles, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that there were great numbers of them in the age immediately following, and in their own. And their knowledge of this might be an additional reason for the opinion that they appear to have formed of that prevalence in the apostolic age. Would these Fathers have granted to their enemies spontaneously, and contrary to truth, that the Jews were strongly prepossessed against the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and that the unitarians were a formidable body of christians while the apostles were living, if it had been in their power to have denied the facts? The consequence of making these acknowledgments is but too obvious, and must have appeared so to them, as well as it now does to others, which makes them so unwilling to make it after them.

I cannot

I cannot conclude this chapter without observing, in how unworthy a manner, and how unsuitably to their real character and conduct, these Fathers represent the apostles as acting. They were all *plain men*, far from being qualified, or disposed, to act so cunning a part, as is here ascribed to them. There is nothing like art or address in the conduct of any of them, as related in the scriptures, except that of Paul; and this was only with respect to his preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised Gentiles, before it was generally approved of at Jerusalem; on which account, he informed the chief of the apostles only with what he had done. But this was no secret long, and indeed a thing of that kind could not, in its own nature, have been much of a secret at any time. On all other occasions he failed not to inform those to whom he preached *of the whole counsel of God*; as he says that he had done with respect to the church of Ephesus, Acts xx. 27. Much less can it be supposed that he would have concealed a doctrine of so great magnitude and importance as that of the pre-existent dignity
of

of his master ; and, communicating it only to a few, have left it to be taught after his death. For it is not to be supposed that the other apostles were in the secret of John's intending to do it after their deaths.

Besides, the instructions of the apostles enjoined them to teach all that they knew, even what their master had communicated to them in the greatest privacy. Whereas upon this scheme, they must have suffered great numbers to die in the utter ignorance of the most important truths of the gospel, lest, by divulging it too soon, the conversion of others should have been prevented.

To these observations I would add, that as among the twelve apostles, there must have been men of different tempers and abilities, it is not probable that they should *all* have agreed in conducting themselves upon this plan, viz. of not divulging the doctrine of the divinity of their master till their hearers should be sufficiently persuaded of his messiahship. Some of them would hardly have been capable of so much refinement, and would certainly have differed about the *time* when it was proper to divulge

divulge so great a secret. Besides, the mother of Jesus, and many other persons of both sexes, must have been acquainted with it. For that this secret was strictly confined to the twelve apostles, will hardly be maintained. And yet we have no account either of their instructions to act in this manner, or of any difference of opinion, or of conduct, with respect to it.

Never, sure, was a more improbable hypothesis ever formed to account for any thing, than this of the christian Fathers to account for the late teaching of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ. But their circumstances left them no alternative. They must have had some very cogent reason for admitting that the teaching of these doctrines was so late; and this could not have been any thing but the want of that *general prevalence*, which they would have had, if they had been taught with effect in the life-time of the apostles, and which would have continued to their own times. They must, therefore, have known that there were more unitarians in the church in the early ages than they could
account

account for on any other hypothesis than that of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, not having been taught till very late. At present, the facts which forced the Fathers upon this hypothesis are forgotten, and the orthodox themselves wonder that they should have adopted a scheme so absurd and improbable. But the different manner in which such an hypothesis is received, is a proof of a great difference in the circumstances and views of things in the different periods. We see nothing to make so strange an hypothesis necessary. They would not have had recourse to it, if it had not been necessary.

C H A P T E R VIII.

Of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, shewing that they were the same People, and that none of them believed the Divinity or Pre-existence of Christ.

WE have seen that, according to the unanimous and very express testimony of the christian Fathers (a testimony which is greatly against their own cause, and therefore, the more to be depended upon) there could not have been many persons who believed the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ in the age of the apostles; one of the last books of the canon, viz. the gospel of John, being the first in which those doctrines were clearly published.

If we look into the gospels, and the book of Acts, we shall find that one part of their testimony is true, viz. that those *sublime doctrines*, as they call them, were not taught in an early period. For none of the three first gospels make the least mention of any thing

thing in the person or nature of Christ superior to those of other men. In like manner, all the *preaching of Christ*, of which we have an account in the book of Acts, is that Jesus was the Messiah, whose divine mission was confirmed by miracles, especially that of his own resurrection, and by the gifts of the Spirit. And all the *controversies* of which we find any account, either in that book, or in the epistles, respected either the *Jewish teachers*, who would have imposed the observance of the law of Moses upon all the Gentile converts, or else those who held the principles of the *Gnostics*.

The erroneous doctrines of these persons are distinctly marked, so that no person can read the New Testament without perceiving that there were persons who held these doctrines, and that they were the cause of great uneasiness to the apostles. But there is no trace of any other opinions at which they took the least umbrage.

As to the effect of the publication of John's gospel, from which so much seems to have been expected by the christian Fathers, it is impossible that we should learn
any

any thing concerning it in the New Testament, because that was one of the last of the books that was published. However, we have no account in ecclesiastical history that it produced any change at all in the sentiments of christians. Though it is said to have taught a new and a sublime doctrine, it does not appear to have been received with any degree of surprize. There are no marks of the publication having given any peculiar pleasure to some, or alarm to others ; or that it occasioned the least division among christians on the subject.

We may, therefore, very safely conclude, that those christians for whose use this gospel was written, saw it in a very different light from those Fathers who gave the preceding account of it. We know, indeed, that to them it did not appear to teach any other doctrine than what was contained in the three former gospels. For by the *logos* of which John treats in this famous introduction, they never imagined to be meant *Christ*, and therefore they could see nothing of his personal pre-existence or divinity in it. In their opinion, the *logos* was that

wisdom and power of God, by which all things were made.

Though this gospel was written in Greek, there were not wanting among the Jewish christians men of learning who would not have failed to give an account of it to their more ignorant countrymen, or to translate it for their use, if it had been thought necessary. Yet, notwithstanding this, all the Jewish christians continued in the very same state in which the christian Fathers represent them to have been before the publication of this gospel, viz. believers in the *simple humanity* of Christ only, and acknowledging nothing of his pre-existence or divinity. The same was also the state of the Gentile christians in general, long after the publication of this gospel.

As no entire writings of any Jewish christians are come down to us, all that we know concerning them must be derived from the writings of the Gentile christians; and as these christians were trinitarians, and had very little communication with the Jewish christians, we can-

not expect any favourable, or indeed any impartial accounts concerning them. If, however, we may depend upon the earliest accounts that we have of them, and those given by persons who were the best qualified to give us good information, they were all unitarians, and were distinguished from the Gentile christians by the name of *Ebionites*, or *Nazarenes*. But as it has been pretended by those who, being trinitarians themselves, were willing to believe that there *must* have been a body of ancient Jewish christians who thought as they do, and that the Ebionites or Nazarenes must have been sects who broke off from their communion ; and as some of these persons have even said that these Ebionites, or Nazarenes, were subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem by 'Titus ; and others have fixed their origin so late as the desolation of Judea by Adrian, it may not be improper to shew that persons distinguished by the name of Ebionites and Nazarenes were supposed to have existed in the time of the apostles.

Irenæus,

Irenæus, who gives no other name to any Jewish christians besides that of Ebionites, whom he always speaks of as both denying the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, and likewise the miraculous conception, objects to the Gnostics, that they were of late date, but he says nothing of the Ebionites in that respect *. Eusebius says, that “the first heralds of our Saviour” (by whom he must have meant the apostles) “called those Ebionites, which in the Hebrew language signifies poor; who, not denying the body of Christ, shewed their folly in denying his divinity†.”

* Reliqui vero qui vocantur Gnostici, a Menandro Simonis discipulo, quemadmodum ostendimus, accipientes initia, unusquisque eorum, cujus participatus est sententiæ, ejus et pater, et antistes apparuit. Omnes autem hi multo posterius, mediantibus jam ecclesiæ temporibus, insurrexerunt in suam apostasiam. Lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 206.

† Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ σωτήριος ἡμῶν, οἱ παρώκληρυκες Ἑβραῖοις ὀνομαζόντες Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, πτωχοί. τὴν δὲ αἰσίαν ἀποκαλεῖς, τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θεὸν λεγούσας εἰδέναι, καὶ τὸ σωτήριος τῷ σώματι μὴ ἀρνυμένους, τὴν δὲ τὸ υἱὸς θεοῦ ἡμᾶς εἰδούσας. Ec. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 75.

Epiphanius makes both Ebion (for in his time it was imagined, that the Ebionites were so called from some particular person of that name) and Cerinthus, cotemporary with the apostle John; and he could not tell which of them was the older*. He likewise makes the Ebionites cotemporary with the Nazarenes, at the same time that he says they held that Christ was the son of Joseph†. Also, in the passage before quoted from him, as well as in that from Jerom, we find the names of both the Ebionites and the Nazarenes among those who gave so much alarm to the apostle John. It must

* Ναζωραῖοι καθ' ἑξῆς τῶν ἐποηέων, ἀμὰ τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ, ἢ καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἢ συν αὐτοῖς, ἢ μετ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοῦ συγχρόνοι. καὶ γὰρ ἀκρίβεστέρον δύναμαι εἰπεῖν τινὲς τινὰς διεδέξαντο. Hær. 30. Opera, vol. i. p. 149. H. 29. p. 116.

† Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἐβίων συγχρόνῳ μὲν τῶν ὑπάρχοντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ συν αὐτοῖς ὁρμαται. τὰ πρῶτα δὲ ἐκ παρατριβῆς καὶ σπέρματ' ἀνδρὸς, τέττιν τε Ἰωσήφ, τὸν Χριστὸν γενέσθαι, εἰλεγει, ὡς καὶ ἡδὲ ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς, ὅτι τὰ ἰσὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἅπασιν φροῶν, ἐν τῷ μόνῳ διαφέρειτο, ἐν τῷ τῷ νόμῳ τε Ἰουδαίῳ περὶ ἀνεχεῖν, κατὰ σαβατισμὸν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὴν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα περὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαμαρείταις διαπράττεται. Hær. 30. p. 125, 126.

be owned, however, that, in no perfect consistence with this account, Epiphanius places the origin of the Nazarenes after the destruction of Jerusalem. After mentioning the places where they resided, viz. Peræa, Cœle-Syria, Pella, and Cocabe, he says, “there was their origin, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when all the disciples lived at Pella; Christ having warned them to leave Jerusalem, and retire at the approach of the siege; and on this account they lived, as I said, in Peræa. Thence the sect of the Nazarenes had its origin*.”

Sophronius, quoted by Theophylact, says, that “John, besides having a view to Cerenthus, and other heretics, wrote more especially against the heresy of the Ebionites, which was then very prevalent, who said that Christ had no being before

* Εκείθεν μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ γέγονε μετὰ τὴν ἀποτὸν Ἱεροσολυμῶν μετασταςιν, πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν ἐν Πελλῇ ὠκηκότων, χρίστου φησαντος καταλείψαι τὰ Ἱεροσολύμα, καὶ ἀναχωρησαί, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἡμελλε πασχεῖν πολιορκίαν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης υποθέσεως τὴν Περαιαν ὠκησαντες, ἐκείσε ὡς εἶπεν διὰ τριῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Ναζωραίους αἵρεσις εἶχε τὴν ῥῆσιν. Hær. 29. Opera, vol. 1. p. 123.

“ he was born of Mary ; so that he was
 “ under a necessity of declaring his divine
 “ origin *.”

Cassian calls Hebion “ the first heretic,
 “ laying too much stress on the humanity
 “ of Christ, and stripping him of his di-
 “ vinity†.”

There can be no doubt, therefore, but that both Ebionites and Nazarenes were existing in the time of the apostles ; and that there was no real difference between these two sects. And that both of them were equally believers in the simple humanity of Christ, is no less evident.

The testimony of Origen is clear and decisive to this purpose. He says, that
 “ the word *Ebion*, in the Jewish language,
 “ signifies *poor*, and those of the Jews who
 “ believe Jesus to be the Christ are called

* Και μαλιστα τηνικαυτα τε των Εβιωνιτων δογματις ανακηφαντος, των φασκεντων τον Χριστον προ Μαρίας μη γεγενησθαι . οδε ηναγκα- σθη την θειαν γεννησιν αυτε ειπειν. In John, vol. 1. p. 548.

† Quorum primus Hebion, dum incarnationem dominicam nimis asserit, divinitatis eam conjunctione nudavit. De Incarnatione, lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 962.

“*Ebionites**.” Here is no room left for any difference between the Ebionites and the Nazarenes; for the Ebionites comprehended all the Jewish christians; and, according to Origen, none of them were believers in the pre-existence or divinity of Christ. He says, there were two sorts of Ebionites, of whom one believed the miraculous conception, and the other disbelieved it, while both of them rejected the doctrine of his divinity. “And when you consider,” says he, “the faith concerning our Saviour of those of the Jews who believe in Christ, some thinking him to be the son of Joseph and Mary, and others of Mary only, and the divine Spirit, but not believing his divinity†.”

He mentions the two sects of Ebionites in the following passage. “There are some

* Εβίων τε γὰρ ὁ πῶλος παρὰ Ἰουδαίους καλεῖται. Καὶ Εβιωνᾶ-
οι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς χρεῖτον, παραδεξαμένοι.
In Celsus, lib. 2. p. 56.

† Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὴν περὶ
τοῦ σώματος πίστιν, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ μαριᾶς καὶ τὸ Ἰωσήφ οἰομένων αὐτὸν εἶναι,
ὅτε μὲν ἐκ μαριᾶς μὲν μόνῃς καὶ τὸ θεοῦ πνευματικῶς, ἢ μὴ καὶ μέλας τῆς
περὶ αὐτοῦ θεολογίας; ψεῖς, &c. Comment. in Matt. Ed. Hue-
tii, vol. 1. p. 427.

“ heretics who do not receive the epistles
 “ of Paul, as those who are called Ebionites,
 “ of both sorts *.”

Eusebius gives the very same account of the two sorts of Ebionites, and makes no mention of any Nazarenes, as differing from them. “ Others,” he says, “ whom a malignant demon was not able to turn aside entirely from the love of Christ, finding them weak in some respects, reduced into his power. These by the ancients were called Ebionites, as those who think meanly concerning Christ — For they think him to be merely a man, like other men, but approved on account of his virtue, being the son of Mary’s husband. Others called by the same name, leaving the absurd opinion of the former, do not deny that Christ was born of a virgin, but say, that he was of the Holy Spirit. However at the same time, they by no means allowing that Christ was God, the word, and wisdom, were drawn into the rest of their impiety.” He then says,

† Εἰσι γὰρ τινες αἵρεσεις τὰς Παυλῆς ἐπιστολὰς τὰ ἀποστόλων μὴ πιστεύουσαι, ὥσπερ Ἐβιωνανοὶ ἀμφότεροι. In Celsus, lib. 6. p. 274.

that

that “ they maintained the observance of
 “ the Jewish law, and that they used the
 “ gospel according to the Hebrews.” He
 says also, “ that beggars are called Ebio-
 “ nites*.”

It may be clearly inferred, from a passage
 in a letter of Jerom to Austin, that though
 he was acquainted with the nominal distinc-

* Άλλως δὲ ο πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν χριστὸν τε θεὸν διαθεσεως
 ἀδυνάτων ἐκσεῖσαι, θάλερ αληπίες ευρων εσφέριξεῖτο . Εβιωναῖς τέλει
 οἰκειῶς ἐπεφημίζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τὸν χριστὸν
 δοξάζοντες . λίτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοῖνον ἡγεῖτο καὶ παρομοίην ἡδὲ
 αὐτὸν μόνον ἀνθρώπου δεικνύμενον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας
 γεγεννημένον . δεῖν δὲ παντὶς αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ ἀν δια
 μόνῃς τῆς εἰς τὸν χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν βίᾳ σωθησόμενοι .
 ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τέλει τῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων
 ἐκίποιν διεδιδρασκόν αἰσθητῶν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ τὸν ἁγίον πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀρνε
 μένοι γεγονέναι τὸν κύριον . καὶ μὴν ἐθ’ ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ,
 θεὸν λόγον οὐκ καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογούτες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιεργασίᾳ
 δυσσεβείᾳ . μαλιστα δὲ καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λαβείαν ὁμοίως
 ἐκείνοις περιεπεῖν ἐσπεύδαζον . εἰς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀποστολὰς πάσαις τὰς
 ἐπιστολάς, ἀρνήσεως ἡγεῖτο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποσταλὴν ἀποκαλεῖται αὐτὸν τὸν
 νόμον . εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ’ Εβραίους λεγομένῳ χρωμένῳ, τῶν
 λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ποιεῖτο λόγον . καὶ τὸ μὲν Σαββαίον καὶ τὴν Ἰσθαμὴν
 ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παραφυλαττόν . ταῖς δ’ αὖ κυριακαῖς
 ἡμέραις, ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλησια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπέ
 τελεον . οὐκ παρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγχείρησιν τῆς τοιαυτοῦ λελογχασί προ
 σηγορίας, τὰ Εβιωναίων ὀνομασίᾳ, τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν υπο
 φαινόντες . ταύτην γὰρ ἐπιπλήν ὁ πτωχὸς παρ’ Εβραίοις ὀνομαζέσθαι.
 Hist. lib. 3. cap. 27. p. 121.

tion between the Ebionites and Nazarenes, he did not consider them as really, or at least as materially, differing from each other. “ If this be true,” he says, “ we fall into “ the heresy of Cherintus and Ebion, who, “ believing in Christ, were anathematized “ by the Fathers on this account only, that “ they mixed the ceremonies of the law “ with the gospel of Christ, and held to the “ new” (dispensation) “ in such a manner “ as not to lose the old. What shall I say “ concerning the Ebionites, who pretend “ that they are christians? It is to this very “ day in all the synagogues of the east, a “ heresy among the Jews, called that of the “ *Minci*, now condemned by the Pharisees, “ and commonly called Nazarenes, who be- “ lieve in Christ the Son of God, born of “ the virgin Mary, and say, that it was he “ who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and “ rose again, in whom also we believe. But “ while they wish to be both Jews and “ christians, they are neither Jews nor “ christians *.”

* Si hoc verum est ; in Cherinti et Hebionis hæresim dilabimur, qui credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum a patribus

That this account of the Nazarenes is only explanatory of the Ebionites, is evident from his saying, “What shall I say “concerning the Ebionites!” After such an expression as this, we naturally expect that he should proceed to say something concerning them, which this author most evidently does; observing, that the same people who were called *Ebionites* (by the Gentiles) were called *Minei* and *Nazarenes* by the Jews. Had he meant to describe any other class of people, he would naturally have begun his next sentence with *Est et*, or *Est alia heresis*, and not simply *heresis est*. As to his speaking of *heresy* in the second sentence, and not *heretics*, as in

patribus anathematizati sunt; quod legis cærimonias Christi evangelio miscuerunt, et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. Quid dicam de Hebionitis, qui christianos esse se simulant? Usque hodie per totas orientis synagogas inter Judæos hæresis est, quæ dicitur mineorum, et a Pharisæis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgo Nazaræos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, filium dei, natum de virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus: sed dum volunt et Judæi esse, et christiani, nec Judæi sunt nec christiani. Opera, vol. 1. p. 634.

the

the first, it is a most trifling inaccuracy in language, the easiest of all others to fall into, and of no consequence to the meaning at all. Besides, Jerom's account of these two denominations of men is exactly the same; the Ebionites being *believers in Christ, but mixing the law and the gospel*; and the Nazarenes, *wishing to be both Jews and christians*, which certainly comes to the very same thing.

Stress has been laid on our author's saying, that the Ebionites *pretended* to be Christians; but Jerom calls them *credentes in Christo, believers in Christ*; and if they believed in Christ at all, they could not believe much less than he himself represents the Nazarenes to have done. It may be said, that they only pretended to be christians, but were not, because they had been excommunicated. But what had they been excommunicated for? Not for any proper imperfection of their faith in Christ, in which they were inferior to the Nazarenes, but *only (solum)* because they mixed the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ; which, in other words, he asserts
of

of the Nazarenes also, when he says, they wished to be both Jews and christians. And though he does not say that the Nazarenes were *excommunicated*, he says they were *not christians*, which is an expression of the same import.

Had there been any foreign reason why we should suppose that Jerom meant to distinguish between the Ebionites and the Nazarenes, we might have hesitated about the interpretation of his meaning, easy as it is. But certainly there can be no cause of hesitation, when it is considered that in this he agrees not with Epiphanius only, but with the whole strain of antiquity, as is allowed by Le Clerc, and all the ablest critics ; and to interpret his meaning otherwise is to set him at variance with all other writers.

It is asked, “ Why were the Cerinthians
“ omitted ? Jerom places them with the
“ Ebionites in the preceding sentence : and if
“ the Nazarenes and the Ebionites were the
“ same people, it may, with equal clearness of
“ evidence, be inferred, that they were the
“ same people with the Cerinthians likewise.”

I answer, they were the same people, as far as Jerom then considered them, because they were equally zealous for the law of Moses.

It has been said, that Austin's answer to Jerom shews, that he considered them as different persons. But Austin only enumerates all the names that Jerom had mentioned, and whether the differences were real or nominal, great or little, it signified nothing to him. He himself, in his *Catalogue of heresies*, makes a difference between the Ebionites and Nazarenes, but by no means that which makes the latter to have been believers in the divinity of Christ, and the former not. And as it was a common opinion, especially in the West, that there was *some* difference between them (though the writers who speak of it could never be certain in what it consisted) it was very natural in Austin to mention them separately, whether Jerom had made them the same or not.

I find that Suicer, in his *Tthesaurus*, under the article *Ebion*, makes the same use of this passage of Jerom that I have done, and considers the Nazarenes as a branch of the

Ebionites. Sandius also draws the same inference from this passage. Hist. Eccles. p. 4.

That the unbelieving Jews should call the christian Jews Nazarenes, is natural; because that was the opprobrious appellation by which they had been distinguished from the beginning. According to Tertullian, they called them so in his time *. Agobard says they did the same when he wrote †. But it was not so natural that this should be adopted by the Gentile christians, because they had been used to regard that appellation with more respect. When, therefore, they came to distinguish themselves from the Jewish christians, and to dislike their tenets, it was natural for them to adopt some other appellation than that of *Nazarenes*; and the term *Ebionites*, given them likewise by their unbelieving brethren, equally answered their purpose.

* Unde et ipso nomine nos Judæi Nazarenos appellant per eum. Adv. Marcionem, lib. 4. sect. 8. p. 418.

† Quod autem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et christianos in omnibus orationibus suis sub Nazarenorum nomine cotidie maledicant. De Insolentia Judæorum, Opera, p. 63.

The term *minei* is from the Hebrew מנים (*minim*) which signifies *sectaries*, and is that by which the Jews, in all their writings, distinguish the christians.

It is something remarkable, that Justin Martyr does not use the term *Ebionite*, or any other expressive of dislike. Irenæus is the first who uses it, or who speaks of the Jewish unitarians with the least disrespect.

It is an argument in favour of the identity of the Nazarenēs and Ebionites, that the former are not mentioned *by name* by any writer who likewise speaks of the Ebionites before Epiphanius, who was fond of multiplying heresies, though the people so called were certainly known before his time. The term Ebionites only occurs in Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. None of them make any mention of Nazarenēs; and yet it cannot be denied, that they must have been even more considerable in the time of those writers, than they were afterwards.

The conduct of all these writers is easily accounted for on the suppositions, that, in the time of Justin Martyr, the Jewish christians,

tians, though all unitarians, and even disbelieving the miraculous conception, were not known by any opprobrious appellation at all; that afterwards they were first distinguished by that of Ebionites; and that it was not till the time of Epiphanius (when such writers as he, who wrote expressly on the subject of *heresy*, made a parade of their learning, by recounting a multiplicity of heresies) that the term Nazarenes, by which the unbelieving Jews still continued to call the christians among them, was laid hold of, as signifying a sect different from that of the Ebionites.

Mosheim makes a doubt whether there was such a person as *Ebion*, or not. I have seen no evidence at all that any person of that name ever existed. There is no founder of a sect, of whose history *some* particulars have not been handed down to posterity; but this is *vox et præterea nihil*. The term *Ebionite*, was also long prior to that of *Ebion*. They who first used this term, say nothing about the *man* from others, and they were too late to know any thing of him themselves.

It must be more particularly difficult to account for the conduct of Eusebius, on the supposition either of there having been such a person as Ebion, or of there having been any distinction between the Ebionites and Nazarenes, since it was his business, as an historian, to have noticed both.

The opinion that the Ebionites and Nazarenes were the same people, is maintained by Le Clerc, and the most eminent critics of the last age. What Mr. Jones (who is remarkable for his caution in giving an opinion) says on this subject, is well worth quoting.

“ It is plain, there was a very great
 “ agreement between these two ancient
 “ sects ; and though they went under different names, yet they seem only to have
 “ differed in this, that the Ebionites had
 “ made some addition to the old Nazarene
 “ system. For Origen expressly tell us,
 “ *Και Εβιωναῖοι χρηματίζουσι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς χριστὸν παρὰ-
 “ δεξαμένοι.* *They are called Ebionites who*
 “ *from among the Jews own Jesus to be the*
 “ *Christ.* And though Epiphanius seems to
 “ make their gospels different, calling one
πληρεσάλον,

“ *πληρες αλον*, *more entire*, yet this need not
 “ move us. For if the learned Casaubon’s
 “ conjecture should not be right, that we
 “ should read the same *ε πληρες αλον*, in both
 “ places (which yet is very probable for
 “ any thing that Father Simon has proved
 “ to the contrary) yet will the difficulty be
 “ all removed at once, by this single con-
 “ sideration ; that Epiphanius never saw any
 “ gospel of the Nazarenes. For though
 “ he calls it *πληρες αλον*, yet he himself says,
 “ *εκ ουδα δε ει τας γενεαλογιας περιειλον*, *he did not know*
 “ *whether they had taken away the genealogy*,
 “ as the Ebionites had done ; i. e. having
 “ never seen the Nazarene gospel, for ought
 “ he knew, it might be the very same with
 “ that of the Ebionites, as indeed it most
 “ certainly was*.”

In my opinion, Jerom has sufficiently de-
 cided this last question. Could he have had
 any other idea than that these two sects (if
 they were two) used the same gospel, when
 he said, “ In the gospel used by the Na-
 “ zarenes and Ebionites, which is com-
 “ monly called the authentic gospel of

* On the Canon, vol. I. p. 386.

“ Matthew, which I lately translated from
 “ Hebrew into Greek, &c.*”

Farther, the peculiar opinions of the Ebionites and the Nazarenes are represented by the most respectable authorities as the very same; only some have thought that the Nazarenes believed the miraculous conception, and the Ebionites not. But this has no authority whatever among the ancients.

Epiphanius says, in the middle of his first section relating to the *Ebionites*, that Ebion (whom in the twenty-fourth section he makes to be cotemporary with the apostle John) “ borrowed his abominable
 “ rites from the Samaritans, his opinion
 “ (*γνωμην*) from the Nazarenes, his name
 “ from the Jews, &c.*” And he says, in
 “ the beginning of the second section, “ he
 “ was cotemporary with the former, and

* In evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ (quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum). In Matt. 12, 13. Opera, vol. 6. p. 21.

† Σαμαρειτων μεν γαρ η̅χει το βδελυρον, Ιουδαιων τε το ονομα, Οσσαιων δε η̅ Ναζωραιων η̅, Νασαραιων την γνωμην—η̅ χριστιανων βεβηλει εχειν την προσηγοριαν. Hær. 30. scd. i. p. 125.

“ had

“ had the same origin with them ; and first he
 “ asserted that Christ was born of the com-
 “ merce and seed of man, namely, Joseph,
 “ as we signified above,” referring to the
 first words of his first section, “ when we
 “ said that in other respects he agreed with
 “ them all, and differed from them only in
 “ this, viz. in his adherence to the laws of
 “ the Jews with respect to the sabbath,
 “ circumcision, and other things that were
 “ enjoined by the Jews and Samaritans.
 “ He moreover adopted many more things
 “ than the Jews, in imitation of the Sama-
 “ ritans*,” the particulars of which he
 then proceeds to mention.

In the same section he speaks of the
 Ebionites as inhabiting the same country
 with the Nazarenes, and adds that, “ agree-
 “ ing together, they communicated of their
 “ perverseness to each other †.” Then, in

* See note, page 164, in this volume.

† Ενθεν αρχειναι της καινης αυτης διδασκαλιας, οθεν δηθεν η Να-
 ζαρηνοι οι ανομοι προδεδηλωνται. Συναφθεις γαρ εις εκεινοισ, η
 εκεινοι τειω, εκαίτερος απο της εαυτε μοχθηριας τω ετερω μελεδωκε.
 Hær. 30. sect. 2. p. 125, 126.

the third section, he observes that, afterwards, some of the Ebionites entertained a different opinion concerning Christ, than that he was the son of Joseph; supposing that, after Elxæus joined them, they learned of him some fancy concerning Christ and the Holy Spirit*.

Concerning the Nazarenes, in the seventh section of his account of them, he says, that they were Jews in all respects, except that they “believed in Christ; but I do not “know whether they hold the miraculous “conception or not †.” This amounts to no more than a doubt, which he afterwards abandoned, by asserting that the Ebionites held the same opinion concerning Christ with the Nazarenes, which opinion he expressly states to be their belief, that Jesus was a mere man, and the son of Joseph.

* Φανίσαιαν τινὰ περὶ χριστοῦ διηγείλαι, καὶ περὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου.
Hær. 30. sect. 3. p. 127.

† Περί χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῶν προσειρημένων περὶ Κηρινθὸν καὶ Μηρινθὸν μοχθηρὰ ἀχθεῖτες, φίλον ἀνθρώπων νομίζουσιν, ἢ καὶ ὡς ἡ ἀληθεῖα ἔχει, διὰ πνευμάτων ἁγίων γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ Μαρίας, διαβεβαιῶνται. Hær. 29. sect. 7. vol. 1. p. 123.

As to any properly orthodox Nazarenes, i. e. believers in the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, I find no traces of them any where. Austin says, that the Nazarenes were by some called Symmachians, from Symmachus, who is not only generally called an Ebionite, but who wrote expressly against the doctrine of the miraculous conception. How then could the Nazarenes be thought to be different from the Ebionites, or to believe any thing of the divinity of Christ, or even the miraculous conception, in the opinion of those who called them Symmachians? Austin who mentions this, does not say that they were miscalled.

Theodoret, who, living in Syria, had a good opportunity of being acquainted with the Nazarenes, describes them as follows :
 “ The Nazarenes are Jews who honour
 “ Christ as a righteous man, and use the
 “ gospel according to Peter*.” This account of the faith of the Nazarenes was

* Οι δε Ναζωραίοι Ισθαίοι εισι, τον χριστον τιμῶντες ως ανθρωπον δικαιον, κ' τω καλεσμενω κα'τα Πετρον ευαγγελιω κεχρημενοι. Hær. Fql. lib. 2. cap. 2. Opera, vol. 4. p. 219.

evidently meant to represent them as differing from the orthodox with respect to the doctrine concerning Christ; and is to be understood as if he had said, “they believe him to have been nothing more than a righteous man, and a divine teacher” (for claiming to be such, he could not otherwise have been a righteous man) “but they do not believe in his pre-existence, or divinity.” Orthodox persons, who believe these doctrines, are never described by any of the ancients as Theodoret has described the Nazarenes.

In the passage quoted from Epiphanius, in which he gives an account of the motives for John’s writing his gospel, it is evident, both that he considered the Nazarenes as existing at that time, and also that they stood in as much need of being taught the pre-existence and divinity of Christ as the Ebionites. In another place this writer compares the Nazarenes to persons who, seeing a fire at a distance, and not understanding the cause, or the use of it, run towards it, and burn themselves; “So these Jews,”
he

he says, “on hearing the name of Jesus only,
 “and the miracles performed by the apos-
 “tles, believe on him; and knowing that his
 “mother was with child of him at Nazareth,
 “that he was brought up in the house of
 “Joseph, and that, on that account, he was
 “called a Nazarene (the apostles styling him
 “a man of Nazareth, approved by miracles,
 “and mighty deeds) imposed that name
 “upon themselves*.” This can never agree
 with this writer supposing that the Naza-
 renes believed in the divinity of Christ, or
 indeed in the miraculous conception; much
 less with their having an origin subsequent
 to the times of the apostles. And he never
 mentions, or hints at, any change of opi-
 nion in the Nazarenes.

That Austin did not consider the Na-
 zarenes in any favourable light, is evident

* Απεσταντες γαρ μονον ονομα τε Ιησυ, κ' δεασταμενοι τα θεωτη-
 μεια τα δια χειρων των αποστολων γνομενα, κ' αυτοι εις αυτον πικνευσσι .
 γνωτες δε αυτον εκ Ναζαρετ εν γαστρι εγκυμονηθεντα, κ' εν οικω Ιωσηφ
 ανατραφεντα, κ' δια τειλο εν τω ευαγγελιω Ιησεν Ναζωραιον καλει-
 σθαι, ως κ' οι αποστολοι φασιν Ιησεν τον Ναζωραιον ανδρα, αποδεδειγ-
 μενον εν τε σημείοις κ' τερασι κ' τα εξης ; τειλο το ονομα επιβλεπασθαι
 αυτοις, το καλεισθαι Ναζωραιος. Hær. 29. sect. 5. Opera,
 vol. I. p. 120.

from

from his calling them, in his answer to Jerom, *heretics*, “As to the opinion of those
 “heretics, who, while they would be both
 “Jews and christians, can neither be Jews
 “nor christians, &c.*” It is in these very words that Jerom had characterized those whom he had called Nazarenes. What more could Austin have said of the Ebionites? Can it be supposed that he would have spoken of the Nazarenes in this manner, if he had thought them orthodox with respect to the doctrine of the trinity; especially considering that it was in an age in which the greatest account was made of that doctrine; so that perfect soundness in that article might be supposed to have atoned for defects in other things. That Jerom did not consider the Nazarenes as orthodox, even if he did make them to be different from the Ebionites, is evident from his calling them *not christians*.

If we consider the general character of the Jewish christians in the time of the

* Quid putaverint hæretici, qui quæ volunt et Judæi esse et christiani, nec Judæi esse nec christiani esse potuerunt, &c. Opera, vol. 2. p. 75.

apostles, and particularly how apt they were to be alarmed at the introduction of any thing that was *new* to them, and had the least appearance of contrariety to the law of Moses, it will both supply a strong argument in favour of the truth of christianity, and against their receiving the doctrine of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ either then or afterwards. Their rooted prejudices against the apostle Paul (whose conversion to christianity must have given them great satisfaction) merely on account of his activity in preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised Gentiles (though with the approbation of the rest of the apostles) shows that they would not receive any *novelty* without the strongest evidence. Their dislike of the apostle Paul, we know from ecclesiastical history, continued to the latest period of their existence as a church, and they would never make use of his writings. But to the very last, their objections to him amounted to nothing more than his being no friend to the law of Moses.

The resemblance between the character of the Ebionites, as given by the early christian

tian,

tian Fathers, and that of the Jewish christians at the time of Paul's last journey to Jerufalem, is very striking. After he had given an account of his conduct to the more intelligent of them, they were satisfied with it; but they thought there would be great difficulty in satisfying others. "Thou
 "seest brother," say they to him, Acts
 xxi. 20. "how many thousands of Jews
 "there are who believe, and they are all
 "zealous of the law. And they are in-
 "formed of thee, that thou teachest all the
 "Jews who are among the Gentiles, to for-
 "sake Moses; saying that they ought not
 "to circumcise their children, neither to
 "walk after the customs. What is it
 "therefore? The multitudes must needs
 "come together, for they will hear that
 "thou art come. Do therefore this that
 "we say unto thee: We have four men who
 "have a vow on them; them take, and pu-
 "rify thyself with them, and be at charges
 "with them, that they may shave their
 "heads, and all may know that those things
 "whereof they were informed concerning
 "thee are nothing, but that thou thyself

“also walkest orderly and keepest the law.”

So great a resemblance in some things, viz. their attachment to the law, and their prejudices against Paul, cannot but lead us to imagine, that they were the same in other respects also, both being equally zealous observers of the law, and equally strangers to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. In that age all the Jews were equally zealous for the great doctrine of the *unity of God*, and their *peculiar customs*. Can it be supposed then that they would so obstinately retain the one, and so readily abandon the other?

I have not met with any mention of more than one orthodox Jewish christian in the course of my reading, and that is one whose name was Joseph, whom Epiphanius says he met with at Scythopolis, when all the other inhabitants of the place were Arians. Hær. 30. Opera, vol. I. p. 129.

C H A P T E R IX.

*Of the supposed Church of Orthodox Jews
at Jerusalem, subsequent to the Time of
Adrian.*

MOSHEIM speaks of a church of trinitarian Jews, who had abandoned the law of Moses, and resided at Jerusalem, subsequent to the time of Adrian. Origen, who asserts that all the Jewish christians of his time conformed to the law of Moses, he says, must have known of this church; and therefore he does not hesitate to tax him with asserting a wilful falsehood. Error was often ascribed to this great man by the later Fathers, but never before, I believe, was his veracity called in question. And least of all can it be supposed, that he would have dared to assert a notorious untruth in a public controversy. He must have been a fool, as well as a knave, to have ventured upon it.

Bodies

Bodies of men do not suddenly change their opinions, and much less their customs and habits; least of all would an act of violence produce that effect; and of all mankind the experiment was the least likely to answer with the Jews. If it had produced any effect for a time, their old customs and habits would certainly have returned when the danger was over. It might just as well be supposed that all the Jews in Jerusalem began at that time to speak Greek, as well as that they abandoned their ancient customs. And this might have been alledged in favour of it, that from that time the bishops of Jerusalem were all Greeks, the public offices were no doubt performed in the Greek language, and the church of Jerusalem was indeed, in all respects, as much a Greek church as that of Antioch.

Mosheim produces no authority in his Dissertations for his assertion. He only says, that he cannot reconcile the fact that Origen mentions, with his seeming unwillingness to allow the Ebionites to be christians. But this is easily accounted for from the attachment which he himself had to the doctrine

doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which they denied; and from their holding no communion with other christians.

All the appearance of authority that I can find in any ancient writer, of the Jewish christians deserting the law of their ancestors, is in Sulpicius Severus, to whom I am referred by Mosheim in his History. But what he says on the subject is only what follows: “ At this time Adrian, thinking
“ that he should destroy christianity by
“ destroying the place, erected the images of
“ dæmons in the church, and in the place
“ of our Lord’s sufferings; and because the
“ christians were thought to consist chiefly
“ of Jews (for then the church at Jerusalem
“ had all its clergy of the circumcision)
“ ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard, and drive all Jews from any
“ access to Jerusalem; which was of service
“ to the christian faith. For at that time
“ they almost all believed Christ to be God,
“ but with the observance of the law; the
“ Lord so disposing it, that the servitude
“ of the law should be removed from the
“ liberty of the faith and of the church.

Then

“ Then was Marc the first bishop of the
 “ Gentiles at Jerufalem*.” Here the his-
 torian fays, that the object of Adrian was to
 overturn christianity, and that the Jews
 were banished becaufe the christians there
 were chiefly of that nation. According to
 this account, all the Jews, christians, as well
 as others, were driven out of Jerufalem, and
 nothing is faid of any of them forfaking the
 law of Mofes. Eusebius mentions the ex-
 pulfion of the Jews from Jerufalem, but
 fays not a word of any of the christians
 there abandoning circumcifion, and their
 other ceremonies, on that occafion. In-
 deed, fuch a thing was in the higheft de-

* Qua tempeftate Adrianus, exiftimans fe christianam
 fidem loci injuria perempturum, et in templo ac loco do-
 minicæ paffionis dæmonum fimulachra constituit. Et
 quia christiani ex Judæis potiffimum putabantur (namque
 tum Hierofolymæ non nifi ex circumcifione habebat ec-
 clefia Sacerdotem) militum cohortem custodias in perpe-
 tuum agitare juffit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierofolymæ adi-
 tus arceret. Quod quidem christianæ fidei proficiebat;
 quia tum pene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observa-
 tione credebant, Nimirum id domino ordinante difpofitum,
 ut legis fervitus a libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur.
 Ita tum primum Marcus ex Gentibus apud Hierofolymam
 epifcopus fuit. Hift. lib. 2. cap. 31. p. 245.

gree improbable. Speaking of the desolation mentioned, If. vi. he says, that “ it
 “ was fulfilled in the time of Adrian, when
 “ the Jews, undergoing a second siege, were
 “ reduced to such misery, that, by the im-
 “ perial orders, they were not suffered even
 “ to see the desolation of their metropolis
 “ at a distance*.”

Independent of all natural probability, had Sulpitius Severus actually written all that Mosheim advances; whether is it from this writer, or from Origen, that we are more likely to gain true information on this subject. Origen, writing in controversy, and of course subject to correction, appeals to a fact as notorious in the country in which he himself resided, and in his own times, to which therefore he could not but have given particular attention. Whereas Sulpitius Severus lived in the remotest part of Gaul, several thousand miles from Palestine, and

* Επιληρτο δε η αυτη καια της Αδριανου χρονος, καθ ης δευτεραν υπομειναντες Ιουδαιοι πολιορκιαν, εις τοιοτο κακον περιεστησαν, ως νομοις η διαλαγμασιν αυτοκρατορικαις, μηδε εξ αποπτε την ερημιαν της εαυτων μητροπολεως θεωρειν επιτρεπεσθαι. Monifaucon's Collectio, vol. 2. p. 379.

two hundred years after Origen, so that he could not have asserted the fact as from his own knowledge; and he quotes no other person for it. But, in reality, Sulpitius Severus is no more favourable to Mosheim's account of the matter than Origen himself; so that to the authority of both of them, of all ancient testimony, and natural probability, nothing can be opposed but a willingness to find orthodox Jewish christians somewhere.

The passage of Origen, which is a full contradiction to all that Mosheim has advanced concerning this orthodox Jewish church, consisting of persons who abandoned the law of Moses, at the surrender of Jerusalem to Adrian, is as follows: "He who
 " pretends to know every thing, does not
 " know what belongs to the *prosopopeia*.
 " For what does he say to the Jewish be-
 " lievers, that they have left the customs of
 " their ancestors, having been ridiculously
 " deceived by Jesus, and have gone over to
 " another name, and another mode of life;
 " not considering that those Jews who have
 " believed in Jesus have not deserted the
 " customs

“ customs of their ancestors ; for they live
 “ according to them, having a name agree-
 “ ing with the poverty of their legal obser-
 “ vances. For the word *Ebion*, in the
 “ Jewish language, signifies *poor* ; and those
 “ of the Jews who believe Jesus to be the
 “ Christ, are called Ebionites *.”

Can it be supposed that Origen would have ventured to write in this manner (even supposing that he had no principle of integrity to restrain him from telling a wilful lie) if he had known any such church of Jewish christians as Mosheim describes. Besides, Origen's account of things agrees with what all the ancients say on the subject. Eusebius says, that the bishops of Jerusalem were Jews till the time of Adrian †. The bishops

* Ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε ὁ πάντ' ἐπαγγελλόμενος εἶδεναι, τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν οὐκ οἶδε κατὰ τοῦ τοποῦ τῆς προσωποποιίας· τί γὰρ καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πειθευούσας, κατανοήτεσιν. φησὶν αὐτὰς καταλιπόντας τὸν πατριὸν νόμον, τῷ ἐψυχάγωγῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὑπαταῖσθαι πάντων γελῶν· καὶ ἀπηνυτομολῆκεναι εἰς ἄλλο ὄνομα, καὶ εἰς ὅλον βίον. Μὴ δὲ τὰς κατανοήσας, ὅτι δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πειθευούσες καὶ καταλείρουσι τὸν πατριὸν νόμον. Βίβλι γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν πτωχείας τὸ νόμος γεγεννημένοι. In Celsum, lib. 2. p. 56.

† Ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας, πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῖς γεγονασὶν ἐπισκοπῶν διαδοχαί· καὶ πολλὰς Ἑβραίων φασὶν οὐκ ἀνεκαθεῖν τὴν γνώσιν τὴν χρίσιν γνήσιον καὶ ἀδεύσαν. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 143.

were

were Jews, because the people were so. It is natural, therefore, to suppose, that when the bishops were Greeks, the people were Greeks also. And this is what Nicephorus expressly asserts to have been the case. For he says, that “ Adrian caused Jerusalem to
“ be inhabited by Greeks only, and per-
“ mitted no others to live in it*.”

Origen is so far from saying, that any Jews abandoned circumcision, and the rites of their religion, that he says some of the Gentile christians conformed to them†.

Having consulted Eusebius, and other ancient writers to no purpose, for some account of these Jews who had deserted the religion of their ancestors, I looked into Tillemont, who is wonderfully careful and exact in bringing together every thing that relates to his subject; but his account

* Ελλησι δε μονοις την πολιν εδιδε, & καλοικειν επελερεπεν. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 24. vol. I. p. 256.

† Quia non solum carnales Judæi de circumcisione carnis revincendi sunt nobis, sed nonnulli ex eis, qui Christi nomen videntur suscepisse, et tamen carnalem circumcisionem recipiendam putant: ut Ebionitæ, et si qui his simili paupertate sensus aberrant. In Gen. Hom. 3. Opera. vol. I. p. 19.

of the matter differs widely indeed from that of Mosheim. He says (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 2. part 2. p. 506) “The
“ Jews converted to the faith of Christ
“ were not excepted by Adrian from the
“ prohibition to continue at Jerusalem.
“ They were obliged to go out with the
“ rest. But the Jews being then obliged
“ to abandon Jerusalem, that church began
“ to be composed of Gentiles, and before
“ the death of Adrian, in the middle of the
“ year 138, Marc, who was of Gentile
“ race, was established their bishop.” He does not say with Mosheim, that this Marc was chosen by the Jews who abandoned the Mosaic rites. *Hist.* vol. 1. p. 172.

Fleury, I find, had the same idea of that event. He says (*Hist.* vol. 1. p. 316.)
“ From this time the Jews were forbidden
“ to enter Jerusalem, or even to see it at
“ a distance. The city being afterwards
“ inhabited by Gentiles, had no other name
“ than *Ælia*. Hitherto the church of Je-
“ rusalem had only been composed of Jew-
“ ish converts, who observed the ritual of
“ the law under the liberty of the gospel;
“ but

“ but then, as the Jews were forbidden to
 “ remain there, and guards were placed to
 “ defend the entrance of it, there were no
 “ other christians there besides those who
 “ were of Gentile origin ; and thus the re-
 “ mains of the servitude of the law were
 “ entirely abolished.”

I cannot help, in this place, taking some farther notice of what Mosheim says with respect to this charge of a wilful falsehood on Origen. Jerom, in his epistle to Pam-machius (*Opera*, vol. 1. p. 496.) says, that Origen adopted the Platonic doctrine of the subserviency of truth to utility, as with respect to deceiving enemies, &c. the same that Mr. Hume, and other speculative moralists have done ; considering the foundation of all social virtue to be the public good. But it by no means follows from this, that such persons will ever indulge themselves in any greater violations of truth, than those who hold other speculative opinions concerning the foundation of morals.

Jerom was far from saying, that “ Ori-
 “ gen reduced his theory to practice.” He mentions no instance whatever of his having

recourse to it, and is far, indeed, from vindicating any person in asserting, that to silence an adversary, he had recourse to the wilful and deliberate allegation of a notorious falsehood.

Grotius also says, that it is well observed by Sulpitius Severus, that all the Jewish christians till the time of Adrian held that Christ was God, though they observed the law of Moses, in the passage which I have quoted from him. But the sense in which Grotius understood the term *God* in this place must be explained by his own sentiments concerning Christ. As to Sulpitius himself, he must be considered as having said nothing more than that, “almost all the Jews at Jerusalem were christians, though they observed the law of Moses.” This writer’s mere assertion, that the Jewish christians held Christ to be God, in the proper sense of the word, unsupported by any reasons for it, is not to be regarded.

C H A P T E R X.

Of the supposed Heresy of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, and other particulars relating to them.

I Have observed that Tertullian is the first christian writer who expressly calls the Ebionites *heretics*. Irenæus, in his large treatise concerning *heresy*, expresses great dislike of their doctrine, always representing them as believing that Jesus was the son of Joseph; but he never confounds them with *the heretics*. Justin Martyr makes no mention of *Ebionites*, but he speaks of the *Jewish christians*, which has been proved to be a synonymous expression; and it is plain, that he did not consider all of them as heretics, but only those of them who refused to communicate with the Gentile christians. With respect to the rest, he says, that he should have

no

no objection to hold in communion with them*. He describes them as persons who observed the law of Moses, but did not impose it upon others. Who could these be but Jewish unitarians? For according to the evidence of all antiquity, and what is supposed by Justin himself, all the Jewish christians were such. It is probable, therefore, that the Nazarenes, or Ebionites, were considered as in a state of excommunication, merely because they would have imposed the law of Moses upon the Gentiles, and refused to hold communion with any, besides those who were circumcised; so that, in fact, they excommunicated themselves.

This circumstance may throw some light on the passage in Jerom, in which he speaks of the Ebionites as anathematized *solely* on account of their adherence to the Jewish law. The Ebionites, at least many of them, would have imposed the yoke of the Jewish law upon the Gentile christians. They

would not communicate with those who were not circumcised, and of course these could not communicate with them; so that they were necessarily in a state of excommunication with respect to each other. This would also be the case with the Cerinthians, as well as the Ebionites; and therefore Jerom mentions them together; the separation of communion with respect to both arising, in a great measure, from the observance of the law of Moses; though Jerom might write unguardedly, as he often did, in confounding the case of the Cerinthians so much as he here does with that of the Ebionites.

Ruffinus makes the heresy of Ebion to consist in their enjoining the observance of the Jewish law*. The attachment of the Jews to their own law was certainly very great. Origen speaks of the Ebionites as

* Consilium vanitatis est quod Ebion docet, ita Christo credi debere, ut circumcisio carnis, et observatio sabbathi, et sacrificiorum solemnitas, cæteræque omnes observantiæ secundum legis literam teneantur. In Symbol. p. 189.

thinking

thinking that Christ came chiefly for the sake of the Israelites*.

There is something very particular in the conduct of Tertullian with respect to the Ebionites. He speaks of the heresy of Ebion (of which he makes but the slightest mention in his Treatise against heresy in general) as consisting in the observance of the Jewish ceremonies †; and yet he says, that “ John in his epistle calls those chiefly “ antichrists, who denied that Christ came “ in the flesh, and who did not think that “ Jesus was the Son of God ;” meaning, probably, a disbelief of the miraculous conception. “ The former,” he says, “ Marcion held, the latter Ebion ‡.”

* Οὐκ ἀπεσταλὴν εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ προεῖλα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκῃ Ἰσραὴλ .
 καὶ ἐλαμβανόμεν ταῦτα ὡς οἱ πῶλχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ Ἐβιωναῖοι πῶλχειας τῆς
 διανοίας ἐπῶνυμοι (Ἐβίω γὰρ ὁ πῶλχος παρ Ἑβραίοις ὀνομαζέται) ὥστε
 ὑπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκικῆς Ἰσραελίτιδος προηγυμένως τὸν χριστὸν ἐκδεθῆ-
 ναι. Philocalia, p. 16.

† Ad Galatas scribens invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis hæresis est. De Præscrip. sect. 33. Opera, p. 214.

‡ At in epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent
 Jesum

Upon the whole, the conduct of Tertullian very much resembles that of Irenæus, who, without classing the Ebionites with heretics, expresses great dislike of their doctrine.

It is certain, that the Ebionites were a very different set of persons from the Gnostics, and that they were utter strangers to the principles of that philosophy which were the cause of the prejudice that was entertained concerning *matter* and *the body*, and which led the Gnostics to recommend corporeal austerities, and abstinence from marriage. Epiphanius says, that “the Ebionites, and all such sects, were enemies to “virginity and continence*.”

This writer’s hatred of the Ebionites, and of course his misrepresentation of them, are very conspicuous. But there is one thing which he lays to their charge, which, though absolutely incredible, it is not easy to ac-

Jesum esse filium dei. Illud Marcion, hoc Hebion vindicavit. De Præscrip. sect. 33. Opera, p. 214.

† Τα νυν δε απηγορευται πανταπασι παρ αυτοις παρθενια τε η εγκραθεια, ως η παρα τοις αλλαις ομοιαις ταυτη αιρεσεται. Hær. 30. p. 526.

count for. For he says, that “ the Ebionites revere water as a God*.” Damascenus says the same after him. *De Hæresibus*, Opera, p. 690.

Another most extraordinary and highly improbable allegation of Epiphanius, with respect to the Ebionites, is his charging them with the peculiar doctrines of the Gnostics, which is contrary to the testimony, I may safely say, of all other ancient writers; it being commonly said by them, that the heresy of the Ebionites was the very reverse of that of the Gnostics. He says, however, that “ some of the Ebionites held that Adam, who was first formed, and into whom God breathed the breath of life, was Christ. But others of them say that he was from above, that he was a spirit created before any others, before the angels, that he was lord of all, was called Christ, and made the sovereign of that age; that he came from thence whenever he pleased, as into Adam, and that he appeared in the form

* Το υδωρ αληθες ερχεται. Opera, vol. I. p. 53.

“ of a man to the patriarchs, to Abraham,
 “ Isaac, and Jacob, and that it was the
 “ same who in the latter days, being clothed
 “ with the body of Adam, appeared as a
 “ man, was crucified, rose from the dead,
 “ and ascended into heaven*.”

Again, speaking of the Ebionites in general, he says, “ they assert that there were
 “ two beings created, viz. Christ and the
 “ devil; that Christ took the inheritance
 “ of the future age, and the devil of the
 “ present, and that the Supreme Being
 “ made this appointment at the request of
 “ them both. On this account, they say
 “ that Jesus was born of the seed of man,
 “ and became the son of God by adoption,
 “ by Christ coming into him from above,

* Τινες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀδάμ τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι λέγουσι, τὸν πρῶτον
 πλάσθεντα τε καὶ ἐμψυσηθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς τῆ θεοῦ ἐπιπνοίας. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν
 αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν ἀνωθεν μὲν οὐκ, πρὸ πάντων δὲ κτισθέντα πνευματικὰ οὐκ,
 καὶ ὑπερ ἀγγέλων οὐκ, πάντων τε κυριεύοντα, καὶ χριστὸν λέγεσθαι, τὸν
 ἐκείνους δὲ αἰῶνα κεκληρωσθαι. ἐρχεσθαι δὲ ἐλθόντα ὡς βασιλεῖα, ὡς καὶ
 ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ ἦλθε, καὶ τοῖς πατριαρχαῖς ἐφαινέτο ἐνδύμενον τὸ σῶμα.
 πρὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐλθὼν καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων ἡμε-
 ρῶν ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῷ Ἀδάμ ἐνέδυτο, καὶ ὥρθη ἀνθρώπος, καὶ
 ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν. Hær. 30. sect. 3. p. 127.

“ in

“ in the form of a dove. But they say that
 “ he was not generated from God the Fa-
 “ ther, but created by him, as one of the
 “ archangels, though greater than they ;
 “ for that he is lord of the angels, and of
 “ all things that were made by the Al-
 “ mighty ; that he came and taught what
 “ is contained in their gospel, saying, *I*
 “ *am come to destroy sacrifices, and if you will*
 “ *not cease to sacrifice, wrath shall not cease*
 “ *with respect to you.* These and such like
 “ things are taught by them *.”

In another passage he ascribes these doc-
 trines not to Ebion himself, but to his

* Δυσ δὲ τινες, ὡς εἶπεν, συνίσωσιν ἐκ δευ τεταγμένοις, ἓνα μὲν τὸν
 χριστὸν, ἓνα δὲ τὸν διαβόλον . καὶ τὸν μὲν χριστὸν λέγεσθαι τὸ μελλοῦν
 αἰῶνος εἰληφέναι τὸν κληρὸν, τὸν δὲ διαβόλον τῶν πεπιστευθῆαι τὸν αἰῶνα,
 ἐκ προσαγωγῆς ὅθεν τὸ παντοκράτορ καὶ αἰήσιν ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν . καὶ
 τῆς ἐνεκα Ἰησοῦ γεγεννημένον ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτε-
 χθέναι, καὶ εἶναι καὶ ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν δευ κληθέναι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν
 κλονίῃ χρίσθαι ἐν εἰδῇ περιτρεφῆς . οὐ φασκουσὶ δὲ ἐκ δευ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
 γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκίστασθαι, ὡς ἓνα τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, μείζονα δὲ αὐτῶν
 οὐκ αὐτοῦ δὲ κυριεύειν, καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πνευμάτων ἀπὸ τῆς παντοκράτορ
 πεποιημένων, καὶ ἐλθόντα καὶ υἱοποιήσασθαι, ὡς τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον
 καλεσμένον περιέχει, ὅτι ἦλθεν καλεῖσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύ-
 σῃσθε τὴν δουρίαν, οὐ παύσεται ἀπ’ ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή . καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα
 τὰ ἐστὶν τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπισηδευμένα. Har. 30. sect. 16. p. 140.

followers

followers. “Ebion himself,” he says, “held that Christ was a mere man, born “as other men are; but they who from “him are called Ebionites, say that God “had a superior power called his son, that “he assumed the form of Adam, and put “it off again*.”

That this representation, which is wholly Epiphanius’s own, is founded on some mistake, cannot be doubted; and I think it most probable, that he has confounded the doctrines of the Ebionites with those of the Cerinthians, who agreed with them in some things, especially in Jesus being a mere man, born as other men are. But he most grossly misrepresented both the Ebionites and the Cerinthians, in saying that they rejected sacrifices, and taught that Christ preached against them. For according to the testimony of all antiquity, both these sects insisted on the observance of the Jewish law.

* Ποτε μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς Εβίων λεγὼν ἐκ παραίρεως ψιλὸν ἀνδρῶπον αὐτὸν γεγεννησθαι. ἀλλοτε δὲ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Εβιωνῶνται, ἀνω δυνάμει ἐκ θεοῦ κεντησθαι υἱόν, καὶ τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐνδύεσθαι τε καὶ ἐκδύεσθαι. Hær. 30. sect. 34. p. 162.

This is all that I have been able to collect concerning the *heresy* of the Ebionites, excepting that Optatus charges them with maintaining that “the Father suffered, and “not the Son*.” But it was no uncommon thing to charge all unitarians with being patripassians. No early accounts of the Ebionites say any such thing of them. Their doctrine was simply, that Christ was a man, but *a man approved of God by signs and wonders, and mighty deeds, which God did by him.*

I must here remark, that no person, I should think, can reflect upon this subject with proper seriousness, without thinking it a little extraordinary that the Jewish christians, in so early an age as they are spoken of by the denomination of Ebionites, should be acknowledged to believe nothing either of the divinity, or even of the pre-existence of Christ, if either of those doctrines had been taught them by the apostles. Could they so soon have deserted so important an article of their faith, and so

* Ut Hebion, qui argumentabatur patrem passum esse, non filium. Lib. 4. p. 91.

lately *delivered to the saints*; and having once believed Christ to be either the Supreme God, or a super-angelic spirit, have contrary to the general propensity of human nature (which has always been to aggrandize, rather than to degrade a lord and master, because it is in fact to aggrandize themselves) come universally to believe him to be nothing more than a mere man, and even the son of Joseph and Mary?

CHAPTER XI.

Of the sacred Books of the Ebionites.

THE Ebionites being Jews, and in general acquainted with their own language only, made use of no other than a Hebrew gospel, which is commonly said to have been that of Matthew, originally composed in their language, and for their use. This I think highly probable, from the almost unanimous testimony of antiquity. But this is a question which I shall not make it my business to discuss.

“The Ebionites,” says Irenæus, “make use of the gospel of Matthew only*.” Jerom had seen this gospel, and translated it from Hebrew into Greek, and without giving his own opinion, says, that “it was by most persons called the authentic gospel of

* Ebionitæ etenim eo evangelio quod est secundum Matthæum solo utentes. Lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 220.

“Matthew.”

“ Matthew*.” Theodoret says concerning both the kinds of Ebionites, that they received no other gospel than that of Matthew†.

But it is evident from Epiphanius, that the Ebionites did not consider the two first chapters of Matthew’s gospel as belonging to it; for their copies were without them, beginning with the third chapter. “ The
“ gospel of the Ebionites began thus, It
“ came to pass in the days of Herod king
“ of Judea, in the time of Caiaphas the
“ high-priest, a person whose name was
“ John came baptizing with the baptism
“ of repentance in the river Jordan‡.” Here, however, there must be some mistake, as it was not in the time of Herod

* In Matt. cap. 12. Opera, vol. 6. p. 211.

† Αλλη δε παρα ταυτην συμμορια, την αυτην επωνυμιαν εχουσα • Εδιδωκεις γαρ κ̅υ̅ ε̅λ̅ο̅ι̅ προσαγορευου̅ν̅αι • τα αλλα μ̅εν̅ απαντα συνομολογει τοις προτεροις, τον δε σωτηρα κ̅υ̅ κυριον εκ παρθενε γεγεννησθαι φησιν • ευαγγελιω δε τω καλα Ματθαιον κεκλην̅η̅ν̅αι μονω. Hær. Fab. lib. 2. cap. 1. vol. 4. p. 328. Ed Halæ.

‡ Οτι εγενετο, φησιν, εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδ̅ε̅ βασιλεω̅ς της Ιουδα̅ια̅ς επι Αρχιερω̅ς̅ Καιαφα ηλθε τις Ιωαννης ονοματι βαπτιζων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εν τω ποταμω Ιορδανη, κ̅υ̅ τα εξης. Hær. 30. Opera, vol. 1. p. 138;

king of Judea, but of Herod the Tetrarch, or king of Galilee; and the inaccuracy is probably to be ascribed to Epiphanius himself. That this writer quoted only from his memory, and inaccurately, is evident from his giving the beginning of this gospel in another place somewhat differently, as follows: “It came to pass in the days
 “ of Herod king of Judea, John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance,
 “ in the river Jordan; who was said to be
 “ of the race of Aaron the priest, the son
 “ of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all men
 “ went out to him*.”

This writer, who was fond of multiplying sects, and who makes that of the Nazarenes to be different from that of the Ebionites, says concerning the latter, that “he did
 “ not know whether they had cut off the
 “ genealogy from the gospel of Matthew †.”

* Οτι εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδης τς βασιλευς της Ιουδαιας, ηλθεν Ιωαννης βαπτιζων βαπτισμα μελαινιαις εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω, ος ελεγετο ειναι εκ γενες Ααρων τς ιερεως, ταις Ζαχαρις και Ελισαβετ, και εξηρχοντο προς αυτον παντες. Hær. 30. sect. 13. p. 138.

† Εχουσι δε το καλα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρεςατον Εβραισι.
 παρ' αυτοις γαρ σαφως τιστο, καδως εξ αρχης εγγραφη Εβραικοις
 γραμμασιν

Meaning, perhaps, the whole of the introduction, as far as the third chapter.—It must be observed, however, that in the copy of this gospel which Jerom translated, there was the second chapter, if not the genealogy. For in this gospel there was, *out of Egypt I have called my son, and he shall be called a Nazarene*.*” This I am willing to explain in the following manner. Originally the Jewish christians did not believe the doctrine of the miraculous conception. Both Justin Martyr and Irenæus represent them as disbelieving it, without excepting any that did. Origen is the first who has noticed two kinds of Ebionites, one believing the miraculous

γραμμασιν ἐτι σωζεται. ἐκ οὐδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ περιειλον. Hær. 29. vol. 1. p. 124.

* Mihi quosque a Nazaræis, qui in Beræa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit; in quo animadvertendum quod ubicunque evangelista, five ex persona sua, five ex persona domini salvatoris, veteris scripturæ testimoniis utitur, non sequatur septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam, e quibus illa duo sunt. Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum, et quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur. Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera, vol. 1. p. 267.

conception, and the other denying it. Probably, therefore, their original copies of the gospel had not the two first chapters, which contained that history; but after some time, those of the Jewish christians who gave credit to the story, would naturally add these two chapters from the Greek copies; and it might be a copy of this kind that Jerom met with.

Epiphanius likewise says, that “ the Ebionites made use of the travels of “ Clement*.” This being an unitarian work, they might be pleased with it; but it is not probable that they would read it in the public offices of their churches, or consider it in the same light with one of the books of scripture.

It is agreed on all hands that the Ebionites made no use of the epistles of Paul, because they did not approve of the flight which he seemed to put upon the law of Moses, which they held in the greatest possible veneration.

* Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἀλλοῖς τισὶ βιβλίοις, ὅθεν ταῖς περιόδοις καλεμένοις Πέτρῃ, ταῖς διὰ Κλημεντῆ γραφείσαις, Hær. 30. Opera, vol. I. p. 139.

Epiphanius says farther concerning the Ebionites, that “ they detest the prophets *.” This, however, I think altogether as improbable, as what he says of their revering water as a god. He is the only writer who asserts any such thing, and as far as appears from all other accounts, the Ebionites acknowledged the authority of all that we call the canonical books of the Old Testament. Symmachus, whose translation of the scriptures into Greek is so often quoted, and with the greatest approbation, by the learned Fathers, was an Ebionite; and Jerom says the same of Theodotion. They both translated the other books of the Old Testament, as well as the Pentateuch, and, as far as appears, without making any distinction between that and the other books; and can this be thought probable, if they had not considered them as entitled to equal credit? Besides, our Saviour’s acknowledgment of the authority of the whole of the Old Tes-

* Αὐτοῖς [Κλημης] γὰρ ἐγκωμιάζει Ἡλιαν, καὶ Δαβὶδ, καὶ Σαμουὴλ, καὶ πάντας τὰς προφῆτας, ὡς εἰσι βδελυγνῶται. Hær. 30. p.

tament is so express, that I cannot readily believe that any christians, Jews especially, acknowledging his authority, would reject what he admitted.

Lastly, the authority of Epiphanius is, in effect, contradicted by Irenæus, who says, that “the Ebionites expounded the “prophecies too curiously*.” Grabe says, that Ebion (by which we must understand some Ebionite) wrote an exposition of the prophets, as he collected from some fragments of Irenæus’s work, of which he gives some account in his note upon the place †.

* Quæ autem sunt prophetica curiosius exponere nituntur. Lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 102.

† Ipsum Ebionem ἐξηγησιν των προφητων scripsisse, colligo ex fragmentis hujus operis, quæ ante paucos dies Parisiis accepi, en MS. codice collegii Claromontani descripto, a viro humanissimo, R. P. Michaelo Loquien, inter addenda ad specilegium hæreticorum sæculi 1. suo tempore, deo volente, publicanda. Ibid.

C H A P T E R XII.

Of Men of Eminence among the Jewish Christians.

THOUGH it is probable, that the Jewish christians in general were poor, and therefore had no great advantage of liberal education, which might be one means of preserving their doctrine in such great simplicity and purity ; yet it appears that there were some men of learning among them. Jerom mentions his being acquainted with such during his residence in Palestine ; and there are three persons among them who distinguished themselves by translating the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, viz. Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus ; though the last of them only was a native of Palestine, and born a Samaritan. Eusebius says, that “ Theodotion and Aquila were both Jewish
 “ profelytes, whom the Ebionites follow-
 “ ing,

“ing, believe Christ to be the son of
 “Joseph*.” According to Epiphanius,
 Theodotion was first a Marcionite, and then
 a Jewish convert†. Aquila is said to have
 flourished about the year 130, Theodotion
 about 180, and Symmachus about 200.
 Whatever was thought of the religious
 principles of these men, the greatest ac-
 count was made of their versions of the
 Hebrew scriptures by learned christians of
 all parties, especially that of Symmachus,
 which is perpetually quoted with the great-
 est respect by Origen, Eusebius, and others.
 Jerom, speaking of Origen, says, that “be-
 “fides comparing the version of the sep-
 “tuagint, he likewise collated the versions
 “of Aquila of Pontus, a profelyte, that
 “of Theodotion an Ebionite, and that of
 “Symmachus, who was of the same sect;
 “who also wrote commentaries on the
 “gospel of Matthew, from which he en-

* Ως Θεοδόσιον ηρμηνεύσεν ο Εφρεσιος, και Ακυλας ο Ποντικός, αμ-
 φότεροι Ιεδαίοι προσήλυτοι· οἱς καὶ ἀκολούθησαν οἱ Εβιωνανοί, ἐξ Ἰωσήφ
 αὐτὸν γεγεννησθαι φασκεσι. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 221.

† Θεοδόσιον τις Πόντιος· ἀπὸ τῆς διδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος τε αἱρεσι-
 ἀρχῆς τε Σινωπίτη. De Mensuris, Opera, vol. 2. p. 172,

“deavoured

“deavoured to prove his opinion*.” In so great estimation was Symmachus held, that Austin says the Nazarenes were sometimes called Symmachians†.

I reserve the account of Hegesippus to the last, because it has been asserted that, though he was a Jewish christian, he was not properly an Ebionite, but orthodox with respect to his belief of the trinity. But that he was not only a Jewish christian, but likewise a proper Ebionite, or a believer in the simple humanity of Christ, may, I think, be inferred from several circumstances, besides his being a Jewish christian; though, since Origen says that none of them believed the divinity of Christ, we ought to have some positive evidence before we admit that he was an exception.

* Aquilæ scilicet Pontici profelyti, et Theodotionis Ebioniei, et Symmachi ejusdem dogmatis, qui in evangelium quoque *ναλὰ Ματθαίου* scripsit commentarios, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur. *Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera*, vol. I. p. 294.

† Et tamen si mihi Nazareorum objiceret quisquam quos alii Symmachianos appellant. *Contra Faustum Man.* *Opéra*, vol. 6. p. 342.

That

That Hegesippus was an Ebionite, may be inferred from his giving a list of all the heresies of his time, in which he enumerates a considerable number, and all of them Gnostics, without making any mention of the Ebionites.

He being a Jewish christian himself, could not but be well acquainted with the prevailing opinions of the Jewish christians, the most conspicuous of which, it cannot be denied, was the doctrine of Christ's being a mere man. Now can it be supposed, that if he himself had been what is now called an orthodox christian, that is, a trinitarian, or even an Arian, he would wholly have omitted the mention of the Ebionites in any list of heretics of his time, had it been ever so short a one; and this consists of no less than eleven articles? Also, can it be supposed that Eusebius, who speaks of the Ebionites with so much hatred and contempt, would have omitted to copy this article, if it had been in the list?

Their not being inserted in the list by such a person as Eusebius, must, I think, satisfy

satisfy any person, who has no system to support, with respect to this article. A stronger negative argument can hardly be imagined. As to Hegeſippus himſelf, we muſt judge of his feelings and conduct as we ſhould of thoſe of any perſon at this day in a ſituation ſimilar to his. Now, did any ſubſequent eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, or did any modern divine, of the orthodox faith, ever omit Arians, or Socinians, or names ſynonymous to them (who always were, and ſtill are, in the higheſt degree obnoxious to them) in a liſt of heretics?

Had the faith of the early chriſtians been either that Chriſt was true and very God, or a ſuperior angelic ſpirit, the maker of the world, and of all things viſible and inviſible under God; and had Hegeſippus himſelf retained that faith, while the generality, or only any conſiderable number of his countrymen, had departed from it, it could not but have been upon his mind, and have excited the ſame indignation that the opinions of the Arians and Socinians excite in the minds of thoſe who are called orthodox at this day. Nay, in his circumſtances,

such a defection from that important article of faith in his own countrymen, after having been so recently taught the contrary by the apostles themselves, whose writings they still had with them, must have excited a much greater degree of surprize and indignation, than a similar defection would have occasioned in any other people, or in any later times.

It is said to be as remarkable that Hegesippus should have omitted the Cerinthians as the Ebionites. But I see nothing at all extraordinary in the omission of the Cerinthians in this list of heretics by Hegesippus, as they were only one branch of the Gnostics, several of whom are in his list; and it is not improbable that these Cerinthians, having been one of the earliest branches, might have been very inconsiderable, perhaps extinct in his time. I do not know that they are mentioned by any ancient writer as existing so late as the time of Hegesippus; and as they seem to have been pretty much confined to some part of Asia Minor, and especially Galatia, which was very remote from the seat of the Ebionites,

he

he might not have heard much about them. Whereas the Ebionites were at that very time in their full vigour, and though their opinions (being then almost universal in what was called the catholic church) had not begun to give offence, they were afterwards the object of the most violent hatred to the other christians, and continued to be so as long as they subsisted.

That Hegesippus, though an unitarian himself, should speak as he does of the state of opinions in the several churches which he visited, as then retaining *the true faith*, is, I think, very natural. The only heresy that disturbed the apostle John, and therefore other Jewish christians in general, was that of the Gnostics; and all the eleven different kinds of heresies, enumerated by this writer, are probably only different branches of that one great heresy. If, therefore, the churches which he visited were free from Gnosticism, he would naturally say that they retained the true faith. For as to the doctrine of the personification of the logos, held then by Justin Martyr, and perhaps a few others, it was not, in its origin, so very

alarming a thing ; and very probably this plain man had not at all considered its nature and tendency, if he had heard of it. The author of the Clementine Homilies, though cotemporary with Hegesippus, and unquestionably an unitarian, makes no mention of it.

Hegesippus, as an unitarian, believed that all the extraordinary power exerted by Christ was that of the Father residing in him, and speaking and acting by him ; and he might imagine that these philosophizing christians, men of great name, and a credit to the cause, held in fact the same thing, when they said that this *logos* of theirs was not the *logos* of the Gnostics, but that of John the evangelist, or the wisdom and power of God himself. And though this might appear to him as a thing that he could not well understand, he might not think that there was any heresy, or much harm in it. Had he been told (but this he could only have had from inspiration) that this specious personification of the divine *logos* would, about two centuries afterwards, end in the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Son with the Father, this

this plain good man might have been a little startled.

That Eusebius, and others, should speak of Hegesippus with respect (from which it has been argued that he could not possibly have been an Ebionite) appears to me nothing extraordinary, though it should have been known to them that he was one, considering that they quote him only as an historian; and supposing, what is very probable, that he did not treat particularly of doctrinal matters, but confined himself to the acts of the apostles, and other historical circumstances attending the propagation of the gospel; especially as he was the only historian of that age, and had always been held in esteem. A man who is once in possession of the general good opinion, will not be censured lightly, especially by such men as Eusebius.

Can it be supposed also that Eusebius, in expressly quoting ancient authorities against those who held the opinion of the simple humanity of Christ, would not have cited Hegesippus, as well as Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and others, if he

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could

could have found any thing in him for his purpose? This may be considered as a proof that there was nothing in his work unfavourable to the doctrine of the Ebionites. A negative argument can hardly be stronger than this.

Had there been any pretence for quoting Hegesippus as a maintainer of the divinity of Christ, he would certainly have been mentioned in preference to Justin Martyr, or any others in the list; not only because he was an earlier writer, but chiefly because he was one of the Jewish christians, who are well known not to have favoured that opinion.

The manner in which Eusebius speaks of Hegesippus's quoting the gospel of the Hebrews, is such as led him to think that he was a Hebrew christian. "He quotes some things
 " from the gospel according to the Hebrews
 " and the Syriac, and especially in the He-
 " brew tongue, shewing that he was one of
 " the Hebrew christians *." We may, therefore, conclude, that he quoted it with respect; and this was not done ex-

* ΕΝ ΤΕ ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ΕΒΡΑΙΩΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΩ Κ' ΤΑ ΣΥΡΙΑΚΩ, Κ' ΙΔΙΩΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΔΟΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΙΘΗΣΙΝ, ΕΜΦΑΙΝΩΝ ΕΞ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΥΜΕΝΩ. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 184.

cept by those who were Ebionites, or who favoured their opinions. As Hegesippus wrote in Greek, he must have been acquainted with the Greek gospels, and therefore must have quoted that of the Hebrews from choice, and not from necessity.

Lastly, the manner in which Hegesippus speaks of James the Just, is much more that of an unitarian, than of a trinitarian.—“James the Just,” says Eusebius, “is represented by Hegesippus as saying, Why do you ask me concerning Jesus the son of man *?” This looks as if both James and the historian were unitarians; the phrase *son of man*, being probably synonymous to a *prophet*, or a person having a divine commission, and certainly not implying any nature properly divine.

Valesius, the learned commentator on Eusebius, has intimated a suspicion, that the works of Hegesippus, as well as those of Papias and the Hypotyposes of Clemens Alexandrinus, were neglected and lost, on

* Τι με επερωτατε περι Ιησους τος υιος τος ανθρωπου. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 79.

account of the errors they were supposed to contain *. This I cannot help thinking highly probable, and those errors could hardly be any other than the unitarian doctrine, and the things connected with it. Indeed, there were no errors of any consequence ascribed to that early age besides those of the Gnostics, and of the unitarians. The former certainly were not those that Valesius could allude to with respect to Hegesippus, because this writer mentions the Gnostics very particularly as heretics. Though Clemens Alexandrinus was not an unitarian, yet he never calls unitarians *heretics*; and since, in his accounts of *heretics in general*, which are pretty frequent in his works, he evidently means the *Gnostics only*, and therefore virtually excludes unitarians from that description of men; it is by no means improbable but that, in those writ-

* Porro ii Clementis libri continebant brevem et compendiarium utriusque testamenti expositionem, ut testatur Photius in bibliotheca. Ob errores autem quibus scatebant, negligentius habiti, tandem perierunt. Nec alia, meo quidem judicio, causa est, cur Papiæ et Hegesippi, aliorumque veterum libri interciderint. In Euseb. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11.

ings of his which are lost, he might have said things directly in favour of unitarians.

In this passage Valefius also mentions the writings of Papias, as having, in his opinion, been lost for the same reason. Now Papias has certainly been supposed to be an Ebionite. Mr. Whiston has made this very probable from a variety of circumstances. See his *Account of the ceasing of Miracles*, p. 18. In the same tract he gives his reasons for supposing Hegesippus to have been an Ebionite, and he expresses his wonder, “that he should have had the good fortune “to be so long esteemed by the learned for “a catholic,” p. 21, &c. In this Mr. Whiston may be supposed to have been sufficiently impartial, as he was an Arian, and expresses great dislike of the Ebionites; as, indeed, Arians always have done.

It is to be lamented that we know so very little of the history of the Jewish christians. We are informed, that they retired to Pella, a country to the east of the sea of Galilee, on the approach of the Jewish war, that many of them returned to Jerusalem when that war was over, and that they

continued there till the city was taken by Adrian. But what became of those who were driven out of the city by Adrian, does not appear. It is most probable that they joined their brethren at Pella, or Berræa in Syria, from whence they had come to reside at Jerusalem; and indeed what became of the whole body of the ancient christian Jews (none of whom can be proved to have been trinitarians) I cannot tell. Their numbers, we may suppose, were gradually reduced, till at length they became extinct. I hope, however, we shall hear no more of them as an evidence of the antiquity of the trinitarian doctrine.

A few of the Nazarenes remained, as Epiphanius says, in the Upper Thebais and Arabia. He also speaks of the Ebionites as existing in his own time, and joined by the Offens*. Austin says that they were in small numbers even in his time†.

* ΜΟΙΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΝ ΣΠΑΓΓΕΙ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΑΙ, Η ΠΑΡ ΕΙΣ, Η ΔΥΟ ΝΑΣΑΡΕΝΟΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΩ ΘΗΣΑΙΔΑ, ΚΥ ΕΠΕΜΕΙΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΣ. Hær. 20. Opera, vol. i. p. 46.

† Ji sunt quos Faustus Symmachianorum vel Nazarenorum, nomine commemoravit, qui usque ad nostra tempora jam quidem in exigua, sed adhuc tamen vel in ipsa, paucitate perdurant. Contra Faustum Man. Opera, vol. 6, p. 351.

C H A P T E R XIII.

Unitarianism was the Doctrine of the primitive Gentile Churches.

HAVING proved, as I think I may presume that I have done, to the satisfaction of every impartial reader, that the great body of Jewish christians always were, and to the last continued to be, unitarians; believing nothing concerning the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, it may with certainty be concluded, that the Gentile converts were also universally unitarians in the age of the apostles, and that, of course, the great majority of the common people must have continued to be so for a very considerable time. There is no maxim, the truth of which is more fully verified by observation and experience, than that great bodies of men do not soon, or without great causes, change their opinions. And the common people among christians, having no recollection of the apostles having

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taught

taught the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, would not soon receive such strange doctrines from any other quarter.

In what manner the speculative and philosophizing christians came to receive these doctrines, and what plausible arguments they used to recommend them, I have fully explained. But such causes would affect the learned long before they reached the unlearned; though, in time, the opinions of those who are respected for their knowledge, never fail to diffuse themselves among the common people, as we see to be the case in matters of philosophy, and speculation in general.

Actual phenomena, I shall undertake to shew, correspond to this hypothesis, viz. that the Gentile christians were at first universally unitarians; that for a long time a majority of the common people continued to be so, being till after the council of Nice, pretty generally in communion with the trinitarians, without abandoning their own opinion. It will also appear, from the most indisputable evidence, that the Arian hypothesis, which makes Christ to have been
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a great pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world, and the giver of the law of Moses, was equally unknown to the learned and to the unlearned, till the age of Arius himself. As to the opinion of Christ having been a pre-existent spirit, but either not the maker of world, or not the giver of the law, it is quite modern, being entirely unknown to any thing that can be called antiquity.

SECTION I.

Presumptive Evidence that the Majority of the Gentile Christians in the early Ages were Unitarians.

BOTH the strongest *presumptions*, and the most direct positive *evidence*, show that the common people among the Gentile christians, were unitarians, at least between two and three hundred years after the promulgation of christianity.

1. That unitarians must have been in communion with what was in early times called

called

called the *catholic church*, is evident from there being no *creed*, or formulary of faith, that could exclude them. And we have seen that a creed was formed for the express purpose of excluding the Gnostics, who, of course, could not, and we find did not, join the public assemblies of christians, but formed assemblies among themselves, entirely distinct from those of the catholics.

There was no creed used in the christian church, besides that which was commonly called *the apostles*, before the council of Nice, and even after that there was no other generally used at baptism. This creed, as has been seen, contains no article that could exclude unitarians; and there was nothing in the public services that was calculated to exclude them. The bishops and the principal clergy, zealous for the doctrine of the trinity, might, of their own accord harangue their audiences on the subject, or they might pray as trinitarians; but if the unitarians could bear with it, they might still continue in communion with them, there being no law, or rule, to exclude them.

Accord-

Accordingly, we find that all the unitarians continued in communion with the catholic church till the time of Theodotus, about the year 200, when it is possible that, upon his excommunication, some of his more zealous followers might form themselves into separate societies. But we have no certain account of any separate societies of unitarians till the excommunication of Paulus Samosatensis, about the year 250, when, after him, they were called *Paulians*, or *Paulianists*. Others also, about the same time, or rather after that time, formed separate societies in Africa, on the excommunication of Sabellius, being, after him, called Sabellians.

2. 'The very circumstance of the unitarian Gentiles having *no separate name*, is, of itself, a proof that they had no separate assemblies, and were not distinguished from the common mass of christians. Had the unitarians been considered as heretics, and of course formed *separate societies*, they would as certainly have been distinguished by some particular name, as the Gnostics were, who were in that situation. But the
Gentile

Gentile unitarians had no name given them till the time of Epiphanius, who ineffectually endeavoured to impose upon them that of *Alogi** As to the terms Paulians, Sabelians, Noetians, or Artemonites, they were only names given them in particular places from local circumstances.

When bodies of men are formed, distinguished from others by their opinions, manners, or customs, they necessarily become the subjects of conversation and writing ; and it being extremely inconvenient to make frequent use of periphrases, or descriptions, particular names will be given to them. This is so well known, that there can hardly be a more certain proof of men not having been formed into separate bodies, whether they were considered in a favourable, or an unfavourable light, than their never having had any separate name given them ; and this was indisputably the case with the Gentile unitarians for the space of more than two hundred years after

* Φασκεσι τοιουν οι Αλογοι • ταυτην γαρ αυλοις τιθημι την επωνυμian • απο γαρ της δευρο εως κληθησονται. HÆT. 51. Opera, vol. I. p. 423.

the promulgation of christianity. The Jewish unitarians using a different language, and living in a part of the world remote from other christians, had little communication with the Gentiles, and therefore, of course, had assemblies separate from theirs; but for that reason they had a particular name, being called *Ebionites*.

The name by which the Gentile unitarians were sometimes distinguished before the separation of any of them from the catholic church, was that of *Monarchists*, which was probably assumed by themselves, from their asserting the monarchy of the Father, in opposition to the novel doctrine of the divinity of the Son. Had it been a name given them by their enemies, it would probably have been of a different kind, and have implied some reproach.

As to the term *Alogi*, given to the unitarians by Epiphanius, it may be safely concluded, that it was imposed on a false pretence, viz. their denying the authenticity of the writings of the apostle John, and their ascribing them to Cerinthus, for which there is no evidence besides his own; and
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he does not pretend to have had it from the unitarians themselves. It is sufficiently evident that there could not have been any christians who rejected all the writings of John before the time of Eusebius, who considers very particularly the objections that had been made to the genuineness of all the books of the New Testament. And that the same people should reject these books after the time of Eusebius, and not before, is highly improbable. Epiphanius himself ascribes this rejection to the Alogi in general, and not to those of his time only; and he supposes the heresy of Alogi to have been an old one, of which that of Theodotus was a branch*."

The proof that Origen, Chrysostom, and the Fathers in general, give of their not being heretics, is that they had no particular name, besides that of christians. All therefore, that Chrysostom and others could alledge, as a proof that themselves and their friends were of the orthodox faith, and no heretics, might have been alledged by the

* *Ανεστη παλιν Θεοδοῖος τις αποσπασμα υπαρχων εκ της περιεφημενης Αλογε αιρεσεως.* Hær. 54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 462.

whole body of unitarians before the time of Theodotus.

3. This argument will have double force, if we consider how exceedingly obnoxious the sentiments of the unitarians must have appeared, if they had been different from those of the generality of christians at that time. In what light they would have been regarded then, may be easily judged of by the treatment which they receive at present, wherever the trinitarian doctrine is established, and that of the unitarians is professed by the smaller number. In these circumstances, it is a fact which no person can deny, that unitarians have, in all countries, been regarded with the greatest possible abhorrence, and treated as impious blasphemers. It is considered as a great stretch of moderation to tolerate them at all. There are many instances in which even Arians would not allow that the unitarians were christians. This now would certainly have been the case in the primitive times, if the unitarians had been in the same situation, that is, if they had been the *minority*, and trinitarians, or even Arians, the majority.

city. For, human nature being the same, the influence of the same circumstances will likewise be the same, as universal experience shews. For no sooner were the trinitarians the majority, and had the favour of government, than they took the severest measures against those who openly avowed themselves to be unitarians. The same also was their treatment from the Arians, when they were in power, as the history of Photinus testifies.

It is well known with what severity Calvin proceeded against Servetus, when the doctrine which he defended was far from being novel, and Calvin himself was exposed to persecution. Even in these circumstances he thought that to write against the doctrine of the trinity was a crime for which *burning alive* was no more than an adequate punishment; and almost all the christian world, not excepting even the meek Melancton, justified his proceedings. Now, since the minds of men are in all ages similarly affected in similar circumstances, we may conclude, that the unitarian doctrine, which was treated with so much respect

respect when it was first mentioned, was in a very different predicament then; from what it was at the time of the reformation. The difference of *majority* and *minority*, and nothing else, can account for this difference of treatment.

4. Another, and no inconsiderable argument in favour of the antiquity of the proper unitarian doctrine among christians, may be drawn from the *rank* and *condition* of those who held it in the time of Tertullian. He calls them *simplices et idiotæ*, that is, *common* or *unlearned people*; and such persons are certainly most likely to retain *old* opinions, and are always far less apt to innovate than the learned, because they are far less apt to speculate. Whenever we endeavour to trace the oldest opinions in any country, we always enquire among the *idiotæ*, the *common people*; and if they believe one thing, and the learned another, we may conclude with certainty, that which ever of them be *true*, or the more probable, those of the common people were *the more ancient*, and those of the learned and speculative the more *novel* of the two.

In most cases the more novel opinions are most likely to be true, considering the gradual spread of knowledge, and the general prevalence of prejudice and error; but in some cases the probability is on the side of the more ancient opinions; and it is evidently so in this. The true doctrine concerning the person of Christ must be allowed to have been held by the apostles. They, no doubt, knew whether their master was only a man like themselves, or their maker. Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held, and it must have been some time before any other could have been introduced, and have spread to any extent, and especially before it could have become the prevailing opinion. We naturally, therefore, look for the *genuine* doctrine of christianity, concerning the person of Christ, among those who, from their condition and circumstances, were most likely to maintain the old opinion, rather than among those who were most apt to receive a new one. Surely, then, we have a better chance of finding the truth on this subject among
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these *idiotæ*, the common and unlearned people, than with such men as Justin Martyr, who had been a heathen philosopher, Irenæus, or any other of the learned and speculative christians of the same age.

On the contrary, supposing the christian religion to have been gradually corrupted, and that, in a long course of time, the corrupt doctrine should become the most prevalent among the common people; the reformation of it, by the recovery of the genuine doctrine, is naturally to be looked for among the learned and the inquisitive, who, in all cases, will be the *innovators*. This is remarkably the case in the present state of things. The common people in the Roman catholic countries are bigots to the old established faith, while the learned are moderate, and almost protestants. In protestant countries the common people still adhere most strongly to the doctrine of their ancestors, or those which prevailed about the time of the reformation, while the learned are every where receding farther from them; they being more inquisitive, and more enlightened than the unenquiring

vulgar. But still, if any man should propose simply to enquire what were the opinions most generally received in this country a century ago (which was about the space that intervened between Victor and the time of the apostles) we should think him very absurd, if he should look for them among the learned, rather than among the common people. We have experience enough of the difficulty with which the bulk of the common people are brought to relinquish the faith of their ancestors.

Dissenters in England are well situated for judging of the truth of the general maxim, that large bodies of men do not soon change their opinions. Notwithstanding the dissenters have no legal bonds, but are perfectly free to adopt whatever opinions they please ; yet, as they were universally Calvinists at the time of the reformation, they are very generally so still. The ministers, as might be expected, are the most enlightened, and have introduced some reformation among the common people ; but a majority of the ministers are, I believe, still Calvinists.

No person at all acquainted with history can entertain a doubt with respect to the general maxim, that great bodies of men do not soon change their opinions. It appeared when our Saviour and the apostles preached the gospel with all the advantage of miracles; and it appeared in the christianizing of the Gentile world. How long did the ignorant country people, in particular, continue *pagans*, a word borrowed from their being chiefly the inhabitants of villages? Does not the history both of the corruption, and of the reformation of christianity prove the same thing? How many yet believe the doctrine of transubstantiation? and what I think as much a case in point, how many yet believe the doctrine of the trinity?

Is it then at all probable, that when the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ is acknowledged to have been held by the *idiotæ*, or *common people*, and who are expressly said to have been the greater part of the believers (*major credentium pars*) this should not have been the general opinion a century before that time; but, on the

contrary, that of the deity of Christ, which was held by Tertullian, and other learned christians, and who speak of the common people as being shocked (*expavescunt*) at their doctrine? Sufficient cause may be assigned why the learned in that age should be inclined to adopt any opinion which would advance the personal dignity of their master; and the same causes would produce the same effect among the common people, but it would be more slowly, and acquire more time, as appears to have been the fact.

It may be said, that the testimony of Tertullian is expressly contradicted by Justin Martyr, who (in giving an account of the circumstances in which the Platonic philosophy agreed, as he thought, with the doctrine of Moses, but with respect to which he supposed that Plato had borrowed from Moses) mentions the following particulars, viz. the power which was after the first God, or the logos, “ assuming the figure of
 “ a cross in the universe, borrowed from the
 “ fixing up of a serpent (which represented
 “ Christ) in the form of a cross in the wilderness;
 “ dernefs;

“ dernefs ; and a third principle, borrowed
 “ from the fpirit, which Mofes faid moved
 “ on the face of the water at the creation ;
 “ and alfo the notion of fome *fire*, or con-
 “ flagration, borrowed from fome figurative
 “ expreffions in Mofes, relating to the anger
 “ of God waxing hot. Thefe things, he
 “ fays, we do not borrow from others, but
 “ all others from us. With us you may
 “ hear and learn thefe things from thofe
 “ who do not know the form of the letters,
 “ and who are rude and barbarous of fpeech,
 “ but wife and underftanding in mind, and
 “ from fome who are even lame and blind,
 “ fo that you may be convinced that thefe
 “ things are not faid by human wifdom,
 “ but by the power of God *.”

But all that we can infer from this paffage
 is, that thefe common people had learned
 from Mofes that the world was made by

* Ου τα αυτα εν ημεις αλλοις δοξαζομεν, αλλ' ο παντες τα ημετερα
 μιμνημενοι λεγουσιν . παρ ημιν εν επι ταυτα ακουσαι και μαθειν πασα των
 & δε τες χαρακληρας των φοιχειων επιταμενων, ιδιωτων μεν & βαρβαρων
 το φθεγμα, σοφων δε & πωτων τον νυν οντων, & πηρων & χηρων τινων τας
 οφεις * ως συνειναι, & σοφια ανθρωπεια ταυτα γεγενεαι, αλλα δυναμει
 θεα λεγεσθαι. Apol. p. 88,

the power and wisdom (or the *logos*) of God; that the serpent in the wilderness represented Christ; and that there was a spirit of God that moved on the face of the waters: in short, that these plain people had been at the source from which Plato had borrowed his philosophy. It is by no means an explicit declaration that these common people thought that the *logos* and the spirit were persons distinct from God. Justin was not writing with a view to that question, as Tertullian was, but only meant to say how much more knowledge was to be found among the lowest of the christians, than among the wisest of the heathen philosophers.

Besides, Justin is here *boasting* of the knowledge of these lower people, and it favoured his purpose to make it as considerable as he could; whereas Tertullian is *complaining* of the circumstance which he mentions; so that nothing but the conviction of a disagreeable truth could have extorted it from him. The same was the case with respect to Athanasius.

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That the common people in Justin's time should understand his doctrine concerning the personification of the logos, is in itself highly improbable. That this logos, which was originally in God the same thing that reason is in man, should, at the creation of the world, assume a proper personality, and afterwards animate the body of Jesus Christ, either in addition to a human soul, or instead of it, is not only very absurd, but also so very *abstruse*, that it is in the highest degree improbable, *a priori*, that the common people should have adopted it. The scriptures, in which they were chiefly conversant, could never teach them any such thing, and they could not have been capable of entering into the philosophical refinements of Justin on the subject: Whereas, that the common people should have believed as Tertullian and Athanasius represent them to have done, viz. that there is but one God, and that Christ was a man, the messenger or prophet of God, and no *second* God at all (the rival as it were of the first God) is a thing highly credible in itself, and therefore requires less external evidence.

5. Another

5. Another ground of presumption, that the unitarians were not considered as heretics, or indeed in any obnoxious light, and consequently of their being in very great numbers in early times, is, that no treatises were written against them. As soon as ever Gnostics made their appearance, they were censured with the greatest severity, and express treatises were written against them. Whereas the unitarians were first mentioned without any censure at all, afterwards with very little; and no treatise was written expressly against them before Tertullian's against Praxeas, with whom he was, on other accounts, much offended. About the same time, it is supposed, that Caius wrote the treatise called *The Little Labyrinth*, quoted by Eusebius. Before this time there were some voluminous writers among christians, and several treatises were written expressly against heresy, but all the heresies then noticed were those of the Gnostics. Irenæus's treatise against heresy shews, that the Gnostics only were considered as coming under that description. The Ebionites indeed are censured in it, but no mention is

made of the Gentile unitarians, though they were the majority of the common people among christians a long time after this.

His censures of Gentile unitarians is, at least indirect, as they held the same doctrine concerning Christ that the Ebionites did; and it must always be considered, that Irenæus lived in Gaul, where there were no Ebionites, and perhaps not many unitarians, as they abounded most in those countries in which christianity was first planted.

Theophilus of Antioch, about the year 170, wrote against heresies, but only his book against Marcion is mentioned by Eusebius. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 187. He also mentions many of the works of Melito, bishop of Sardis, but none of them were against the unitarians. Lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 188. Rhodon, he also says, wrote against the Marcionites. Lib. 5. cap. 13. p. 225. We have also the first book of a large work of Origen's against heresy; and it is very evident, as I have observed, from his introduction, that he had no view to any besides the Gnostics. Can it be doubted then, but
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that there would have been treatises written expressly against the unitarians long before the time of Tertullian, if they had been considered in any obnoxious light, or had not been a very great majority of the christian world.

6. That the unitarian doctrine was very prevalent, even among learned christians, in the age which followed that of the apostles, and was then supposed to be that which was taught by them, may, with considerable probability, be inferred from the *Clementine Homilies*, and *Recognitions*, of which some account was given, vol. 1. p. 113. What is particularly remarkable relating to this work (for the two were originally the same) is, that, though it was written by a philosopher, and upon subjects which related to the doctrine concerning the person of Christ, it contains no mention of that doctrine which made so great a figure afterwards, and which in time bore down all before it, viz. that of the personification of the logos. No person, I should think, could peruse that work with care, without concluding, that the orthodoxy of the subsequent pe-
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riod had made but little progress then. The same questions are discussed, and the same objections are answered, but on quite different principles, and without taking the least notice of any different principles.

If we cannot infer from this circumstance, that such a system as that of Justin Martyr, or the orthodoxy of the third century, did not exist, or was not much prevalent, so as to have attracted much notice, in the second; it must at least be allowed, as I observed before, that the writer of this work, being indisputably a man of genius and learning, would ascribe to Peter and Clement such opinions, and such a mode of answering the Gnostics, as he thought would pass for theirs. And as the work was probably a very popular one, from the different editions and modifications of it (being published afterwards, with Arian, and again with trinitarian adulterations) and used, as Epiphanius says, by the Ebionites as a sacred book, we may likewise infer, that the theological doctrines of it were generally *thought* to be those of the apostolic age, though with such additions as the

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philo-

philosophy of the times could supply. A man must have had less knowledge and less judgment than the writer of this work was evidently possessed of, to have put into the mouths of Peter and Clement unitarian doctrines, and unitarian modes of answering the Gnostics, if it had not been supposed that Peter and Clement, though no philosophers, were at least unitarians.

To the passages quoted from this work before, I shall here add another, in which, contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the world not having been made by God himself, but by the *logos*, and without noticing any such doctrine, he gives a fine enumeration of the attributes of the one true God, and represents him as the *demiurgus*, the immediate maker of the world, and all the several parts of it, the heavens and the heavenly bodies, the earth and water, mountains and seas, fountains and fruits, &c. &c.*

* Διό, ὦ τέκνον κλημης, ἐπέχε, μὴ ἄλλο τι φρονήσης περὶ τῶ θεῷ,
ἢ ὅτι αὐτός μόνος ἐστὶν θεός, καὶ κύριος, καὶ πατήρ, ἀγαθός καὶ δίκαιος,
δημιουργός, μακροθύμος, ἐλεημῶν, τροφεὺς εὐεργετής, φιλανθρωπιαν νομι-
τεύων, ἀγγεῖαν συμπεσλυνών, αἰωνίος, αἰωνίως ποιῶν, ἀσυγκρίτος, ταῖς
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ψυχαῖς οἰκίζομενος, ἀχωρητός καὶ χωρημένος, ὁ ἐν ἀπει-

Dr. Lardner observes (*Credibility*, vol. 2. p. 819.) that the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions deserve a more particular examination than has yet been given to them. And indeed, in the view in which I have mentioned them, and also, in many others, they are justly intitled to it; as they contain a particular account of the opinions of those times, especially of the manner in which christianity was treated and defended by philosophers. More may be learned concerning the theology and philosophy of those times, from this single work, than from many others. It is true that the philosophical doctrines in it are absurd enough; but the age afforded no better, and they are exhibited in a very pleasing dress.

ρω τον μεγαλν αιωνα ως κενήρον πηξας, ο θρανεν εφαπλωσας, κ' γην
 πιλωσας, υδωρ ταμμευσας, αστρα εν θρανω διαθεις, πηγας γη βρυσας,
 καρπας εκφυσας, ορη υψωσας, θαλασσαν περιορισας, ανεμους τε κ' η
 πνευμαλια διαλαξας · ο το περιεχον σωμα εν απειρω πελαγει πνευματι
 βελης ασφαλης ασφαλισαμενος. Hom. 2, sect. 45. p. 632.

S E C T I O N II.

Direct Evidence in Favour of the Gentile Christians having been generally Unitarians.

BUT there is no occasion to argue in this manner from circumstances, and the nature of the thing, since it appears from the evidence of all history, so as never to have been questioned by any writer of reputation, that the unitarians had not any places of worship separate from those of other christians in early times. It was allowed by Mosheim, a zealous trinitarian, who says, (Hist. vol. 1. p. 191) “However, ready many
“ have been to embrace this erroneous doctrine, it does not appear that this sect
“ formed to themselves a separate place of
“ worship, or removed themselves from
“ the ordinary assemblies of christians.” But does it not also follow from the same fact, that these unitarians were not expelled from christian societies by others, as they certainly would have been, if they had been considered as heretics ?

“ In

“ In former times,” says Nicephorus, “ all who were called christians, though “ they held different opinions, being considered in the same light by the Gentiles, “ and suffering from them, made little account of their differences, while they were “ exposed to equal hardships, on which account they easily joined in the common “ assemblies; and having frequent intercourse, while they were few in number, “ did not divide into parties*.” In these circumstances, however, the Gnostics held separate assemblies, and as the violence of persecution did not make the orthodox receive *them* into their assemblies, so neither would they have admitted the unitarians, if they had been at all obnoxious to them.

That unitarians were included among those who, holding different opinions, were

* *Επι μεν γαρ των ανω χρονων οσοι κλησει χρις εσεμνυνοντο ει, κη διαφοροι ταις δοξαις ησαν, οτοι παντες προς των τα Ελληνων θαναμαζοντων ενομιζοντο. κη πακως εξ εκεινων πασχοντες, απολυπραγμωνηον το διακριεσθαι ειχον, κοινας υφισταμενοι συμφερας. διχ τι κη ρατα καθ' εαυτους συνιοντες, εκκλησιαζον. πυκνην τε την ομιλαν εχοντες, ει δε ολιγοι ησαν, ομως εν εις πολλα διεληθησαν.* Hist. lib. 8. cap. 52. vol. 1. p. 661.

considered by the orthodox as *fellow christians*, is evident from the following passage of Origen ; but it will be more evident from other passages which I shall have occasion to quote from him hereafter. It is only to be observed, that the unitarians are here described as being *patripassians* ; but these were only the more philosophical of the unitarians, as I shall show in its proper place. “ It is allowed,” he says, “ that as in the great multitude of believers, “ who admit of difference of opinion, there “ are some who say that the Saviour is God “ over all ; but we do not say so, who be- “ lieve him when he said, *My Father is “ greater than I ? **”

Eusebius, describing two sorts of heretics, one of whom denied the humanity of Christ, and the other his pre-existence and divinity, says, that the former were *out of the church* ; but he is so far from saying the same of the latter, that he particularly com-

* Εγω δὲ, τινὰς ὡς ἐν πλῆθει πιστευούτων, καὶ δεχομένων διαφωνίαν, διὰ τὴν προπῆλειαν ἀπολιθεσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ παντὶ θεόν · ἀλλ’ ἔτι γε ἡμεῖς τοιούτους, οἱ παιδομένοι αὐτῷ λεγόντι, Ὁ πατήρ, ὁ περιψας με, μείζων μου ἐστίν. Ad Celsum, lib. 8. p. 387.

plains that Marcellus, one of them, even presided in it, being then bishop of Ancyra*.

That Chrysostom considered almost all the christians as being unitarians in the age of the apostles has been shewn already; and yet he says, that in their time there was no heresy †." This, however, could not be strictly true, because there were Gnostics in the time of the apostles; but they were few compared with their numbers afterwards. On this account, it is said by several of the ancients, that heresy began in the time of Adrian, when the most distinguished of the Gnostics made their appearance. Cyprian says, that "the worst of the

* Των γὰρ εἰσροδοῶν, οἱ μὲν, μὴ προεῖναι μὴδὲ πρῶταρχεῖν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς θεῆς φάντες, ἀνθρώπου ἐναυτοῦ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁμοῖον, ὑποθεμένους ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, υἱοθεσία τέλει μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐφασαν, καὶ τὰς δυνεῖς, ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀτελεύτου αὐτοῦ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ βασιλείαν αἰώνιον ὁμολογήσαντες. οἱ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀρνησάμενοι, υἱὸν εἶναι θεῆς. θεὸν προούσια ὑφ᾽ ἑστησαντο· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριοι, μέχρι τοσούτων πλάνης ἐλάσαντες· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς θεῆς τοσούτοις κατηχησάμενος χρόνοις, τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἀναιρεῖ τῆς υἱότητος θεῆς, τῷ αὐτῷ λείψαντος δυσίαστῃ. *Contra Marcellum, vol. 1. p. 33.*

† Τότε τοίνυν, ἡνικά ἐκφυτλὸν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἐκμενην ἀπάσαν, αἵρεσις ἑδμήια ἦν. *Ser. 61. Opera, vol. 5. p. 809.*

“ heresies did not rise till after the time of
 “ the apostles *.”

That the common people among christians were actually unitarians in the early ages, and believed nothing of the pre-existence or divinity of Christ before the council of Nice, we have as express a testimony as can be desired in the case. These sublime doctrines were thought to be above their comprehension, and to be capable of being understood and received by the learned only. This we see most clearly in the general strain of Origen's writings, who was himself a firm believer, and a zealous defender, of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.

“ This,” says he, “ we ought to understand, that, as the law was a shadow of
 “ good things to come, so is the gospel
 “ as it is understood by the generality.
 “ But that which John calls the everlasting gospel, and which may be more
 “ properly called the *spiritual*, instructs the

* Et hoc, cum nondum hæreticæ pestes acriores prorupissent. Epist. I. Opera, p. 211. 219.

“ intelligent

“ intelligent very clearly concerning the
 “ Son of God. Wherefore the gospel must
 “ be taught both corporeally and spiritually,
 “ and when it is necessary we must preach
 “ the corporeal gospel, saying to the carnal,
 “ that we know nothing but Jesus Christ
 “ and him crucified. But when persons
 “ are found confirmed in the spirit, bring-
 “ ing forth fruit in it, and in love with
 “ heavenly wisdom, we must impart to
 “ them the logos returning from his bo-
 “ dily state, in that he was in the begin-
 “ ning with God *.”

“ Some are adorned with the logos itself,
 “ but others with a logos which is a-kin to
 “ it, and seeming to them to be the true

* Και τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶδέναι ἐχρὴν, ὅτι ὡς περ ἐστὶ νομοθεσίαν παρέχων
 τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἀληθείαν καὶ ἀγγελλομένου νομοῦ
 δηλωμένων; εἶτα καὶ εὐαγγελιον σκιαν μυστηρίων χρίστε διδάσκει, τὸ νο-
 μιζόμενον ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις νοεῖσθαι. Οὐδὲ φησὶν Ἰωάννης εὐα-
 γελιον αἰωνίον, οἰκείως ἀνὰ ληξάνομενον πνευματικόν, σαφῶς παρίστησι
 τοῖς νομοῖς τὰ πάντα ἐνώπιον περὶ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. — Διότι ἀναγκαῖον
 πνευματικῶς καὶ σωματικῶς χριστιανίζειν· καὶ ὅτι μὲν χρὴ τὸ σωματικόν
 κηρύττειν εὐαγγελιον, φασκόντι μὴδὲν εἶδέναι τοῖς σαρκικοῖς ἢ Ἰησοῦν
 χριστὸν καὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τὸν ποιήσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ εὐρεθῶσι καὶ ἡλι-
 μενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ καρποφορήντες ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐργῶντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν σοφίας,
 μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ λόγια, ἐπανελθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσαρκωθῆναι, ἐφ' ὃ ἦν
 ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Comment. in Johan. vol. 2. p. 9.

“logos; who know nothing but Jesus Christ
 “and him crucified, who look at the word
 “made flesh *.”

“There are,” says he, “who partake of
 “logos which was from the beginning, the
 “logos that was with God, and the logos
 “that was God, as Hosea, Isaiah, and Jere-
 “miah, and any others that speak of him
 “as the logos of God, and the logos that
 “was with him; but there are others who
 “know nothing but Jesus Christ and him
 “crucified, the logos that was made flesh,
 “thinking they have every thing of the
 “logos when they acknowledge Christ ac-
 “cording to the flesh. Such is the multi-
 “tude of those who are called christians †.”

* Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένοι. Οἱ δὲ παρακειμενῷ τῇ αὐτῷ, καὶ δοκῶντι εἶναι αὐτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ, οἱ μὴδὲν εἰδότες, εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν χριστόν, καὶ τέλος ἐσαυρωμένον, οἱ τὸν λόγον σὰρκα ὁρῶντες. Comment. vol. 2. p. 49.

† Οὕτω τοίνυν οἱ μὲν τινες μελεχῶσιν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ θεὸν λόγον, ὡς περ ὥσπερ καὶ ἡσαΐας καὶ ἱερემίας, καὶ εἰ τις ἕτερος ποιεῖλον εαυτὸν παρέστησεν ὡς τὸν λόγον κυρίου, ἢ τὸν λόγον γενεσθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἕτεροι δὲ οἱ μὴδὲν εἰδότες εἰμὴ Ἰησοῦν χριστόν καὶ τέλος ἐσαυρωμένον, τὸν γενομένον σὰρκα λόγον, τὸ πᾶν νομιζόντες εἶναι τὸν λόγον χριστόν κατὰ σὰρκα μόνον γινώσκουσιν. τέλος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ πλεονάζειν τῶν πεπιστευμένων νομιζομένων. Comment. in Johan. vol. 2. p. 49.

Again, he says, “the multitudes” (i. e. the great mass or body) “of believers are “instructed in the shadow of the logos, “and not in the true logos of God, which “is in the open heaven*.”

But nothing can be more decisive than the evidence of Tertullian to this purpose, who, in the following passage, which is too plain and circumstantial to be misunderstood by any person, positively asserts, though with much peevishness, that the unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, were the greater part of christians in his time.

“The simple, the ignorant, and un-
“learned, who are always the greater part
“of the body of christians, since the rule
“of faith,” meaning, probably, the apostles
creed, “transfers the worship of many
“gods to the one true God, not under-
“standing that the unity of God is to
“be maintained but with the œconomy;
“dread this œconomy; imagining that

* Τα δε πολλὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων νομιζομένων τῇ σκιά τοῦ λόγου, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ λόγῳ, διὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνεωροῦ χρόνῳ τυγχάνοντι, μαρτυροῦνται. Comment. in Johan. vol. 2. p. 52.

“ this

“ this number and disposition of a trinity is
 “ a division of the unity. They, there-
 “ fore, will have it that we are worshippers
 “ of two, and even of three Gods, but that
 “ they are the worshippers of one God
 “ only. We, they say, hold the monarchy.
 “ Even the Latins have learned to bawl
 “ out for the monarchy, and the Greeks
 “ themselves will not understand the œco-
 “ nomy *.”

It is hardly possible in any words to describe the state of things more clearly than

* *Simplices enim quippe, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, quæ major semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis seculi, ad unicum et deum verum transfert; non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum sua œconomia esse credendum expavescunt ad œconomiam. Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt unitatis; quando unitas ex semetipsa derivans trinitatem, non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius dei cultores præsumunt. — Quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta, hæresim faciat, trinitas rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat. Monarchiam, inquit, tenemus. Et ita sonum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini, etiam opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere monarchiam, quam enunciant. Sed monarchiam sonare fludent Latini, œconomiam intelligere nolunt etiam Græci. Ad Praxeam, sect. 3. p. 502.*

Tertullian

Tertullian here does. It is the language of strong feeling and complaint, the clearest of all proofs that he did not mis-state things on that side, as it would have been for the purpose of his argument to have represented the unitarians as being inconsiderable on account of their numbers, as well as despicable on account of their want of learning.

Whoever Tertullian meant by the *simplices* and *idiotæ*, for any thing that appears, he meant the whole body of them. His language is general and unlimited. However, I am far from being willing to construe him rigorously, and am ready to allow that some of the simple and unlearned persons he describes might profess to believe the doctrine of the trinity, though he says nothing of it. But, making all reasonable deductions on this account, he asserts a palpable falsehood, and against himself, if a very great majority of them were not unitarians.

On the whole, it is impossible not to infer from this passage, that, in the time of Tertullian, the great body of unlearned christians were unitarians. Common sense
cannot

cannot put any other construction on this passage, and Tertullian is far from being singular in this acknowledgment. It is made, in different modes, by several of the Fathers, even later than the age of Tertullian.

That Tertullian considered the more simple and unlearned people as those among whom the unitarian doctrine was the most popular, is evident from his saying, that “the tares of Praxeas grew up, while many “slept in the simplicity of doctrine*.”

That the word *idiotæ* in Latin, or *ἰδιῶται* in Greek, signifies a man simply *unlearned*, and not a *fool*, would be an affront to the literature of my readers to attempt to prove.

Athanasius also, like Tertullian, acknowledged that the unitarian doctrine was very prevalent among the lower class of people in his time. He calls them the *οἱ πολλοί*, *the many*, and describes them as persons of low understanding. “It grieves,” he says, “those who stand up for the holy faith,

* Fruticaverant avenæ Praxeanæ hic quoque superfeminatæ, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ. Ad Praxeam, lib. 1. p. 511.

“that

“ that *the multitude*, and especially persons
 “ of low understanding, should be infected
 “ with those blasphemies. Things that
 “ are sublime and difficult are not to be ap-
 “ prehended, except by faith; and ignorant
 “ people must fall, if they cannot be per-
 “ suaded to rest in faith, and avoid curious
 “ questions *.”

This being the language of *complaint*, as well as that of Tertullian, it may be the more depended on for exhibiting a state of things very unfavourable to what was called the orthodoxy of that age. And it was not the doctrine of Arius, but that of Paulus Samosatensis, that Athanasius is here complaining of.

These *humble christians* of Origen, who got no farther than *the shadow of the logos*, the *simplices*, and *idiotæ* of Tertullian, and the *persons of low understanding* of Athanasius, were

* Λυπεί δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀνέχουσας τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως, ὑπερὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βλασφημιῶν βλαπτομένης τὰς πολλὰς· καὶ τὰς πλανητομένης περὶ τὴν συνέσιν. Τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα καὶ δυσκατάληπτα τῶν πραγμάτων πίσει τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λαμβάνειν. Οὐδὲν οἱ περὶ τὴν γινώσκιν ἀδυνατούντες ἀποπιπίσιν, εἰ μὴ πείσθωσιν ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει, καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις ζήσεις ἐκτρέψωσιν. De Incarnatione verbi contra Paulum Samosatensem, Opera, vol. I. p. 591.

probably

probably the *simplices credentium* of Jerom, who, he says, “did not understand the scriptures as became their majesty.” For had these simple christians (within the pale of the church) inferred from what John says of the logos, and from what Christ says of himself, that he was, personally considered, equal to the Father, Jerom would hardly have said, that “they did not understand the scriptures according to their majesty,” for he himself would not pretend to a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the trinity. “For these simple christians,” he says, “the earth of the people of God brought forth hay, as for the heretics it brought forth thorns*.” For the intelligent, no doubt, it yielded richer fruits.

From all these passages, and others quoted before, I cannot help inferring, that the doctrine of Christ being any thing more

* Quod dicitur super terram populi mei, spinæ et fœnum ascendent, referre potest et ad hæreticos, et ad simplices quosque credentium, qui non ita scripturam intelligunt ut illius convenit majestati. Unde singula singulis coaptavimus, ut terra populi dei hæreticis spinas, imperitiis quibusque ecclesiæ fœnum afferat. Jerom in Isai. xxxii. 20. Opera, vol. 4. p. 118.

than a man, the whole doctrine of *the eternal logos*, who was *in God*, and who *was God*, was long considered as a more abstruse and refined principle, with which there was no occasion to trouble the common people; and that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ continued to be held by the common people till after the time of Athanasius, or after the council of Nice. And if this was the case then, we may safely conclude, that the unitarians were much more numerous in a more early period, as it is well known that they kept losing, and not gaining ground, for several centuries.

C H A P T E R XIV.

An Argument for the Novelty of the Doctrine of the Trinity, from the Manner in which it was taught and received in early Times.

THE subject of this chapter properly belongs to the Twelfth, as it relates to a *circumstance* from which it may be *inferred*, that the unitarian doctrine was held by the the majority of christians in the early ages ; but I reserve it for a distinct consideration in this place, because it requires a more particular discussion, and will receive much light from what was advanced both in the Twelfth and Thirteenth chapters.

One proof of the *antiquity* of a doctrine is its being found among the common people, in preference to the learned ; the former being the least, and the latter the most apt to innovate ; so that from the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ being held by the common people in the time of Tertul-
lian,

lian, Origen, and Athanasius, it may be concluded with certainty, that it was the doctrine which they had received from their ancestors, and that it originated with the apostles themselves.

There is also another mark by which we may distinguish what opinions are *new*, and what are *old*, whenever they are apprehended to be of much consequence; and that is by the manner in which they are advanced by the patrons of them, and that in which they are received by those who disapprove of them. The innovator will be timid and modest, and the asserter of an old opinion will be bold and confident. A new opinion will alarm and terrify; but an old one will be treated with respect. This maxim we see exemplified every day, and in no case more remarkably than with respect to these very doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.

If we look back into the state of things in this country about a century, or half a century ago, we shall find the trinitarians shocked at the doctrine of the humanity of Christ, and endeavouring to bear it down

with the greatest confidence and violence. On the other hand, all the defences of what is called the Socinian doctrine, were written with the greatest modesty, and with the air and manner of an apology. Let us now, by this maxim, judge how things stood with respect to this very doctrine in the time of Justin Martyr, Origen, and Tertullian.

As the doctrine of the humanity of Christ was then chiefly held by the common people, who were not writers, and as no work of any unitarian, written after the controversy was started, has been preserved to us, we labour under great disadvantages in this respect. But notwithstanding this, circumstances enough may be collected from the writings of the trinitarians, to enable us to judge how both themselves, and the unitarians, thought and felt with respect to it; and circumstances furnished in this indirect manner by adversaries, are often the least suspicious intimations of the real state of things.

On this principle, it will, I think, sufficiently appear, that it was with great difficulty that the generality of christians were
recon-

reconciled to the doctrine of the deity of Christ, and that of the trinity in any form. It is evident, that the lower class of christians was much staggered by it, and exceedingly offended when they *did* hear of it; which could never have been the case if it had then been supposed to have been the doctrine of the apostles, and to have been delivered by them as the most essential article of christian faith, in which light it is now represented. Such terms as *scandalizare, expavescere*, &c. used by Tertullian, Novatian, &c. and *ταρασσειν*, &c. by Origen, can only apply to the case of some *novel* and *alarming* doctrine, something that men had not been accustomed to. We may, therefore, take it for granted, that it had not been much heard of among the common people at least; and if so, that it had never been taught by the apostles.

Admitting that the apostles had taught any doctrines of a peculiarly sublime nature (which the Fathers pretend to have been the case with respect to the pre-existence and divinity of Christ) yet, as all their teaching was in public, and there were no secrets

among them (Paul, for instance, having solemnly assured the elders at Ephesus, that *he had not shunned to declare unto them the whole council of God*) the common people must at least have heard of these sublime doctrines, and have been accustomed to the sound of the language in which they were expressed. And had they known that those doctrines had been taught by the apostles to any of their body, though not to themselves, they would have learned to respect what they did not understand, and was not meant for their use. They could never have been *offended and staggered* at things which they and their fathers before them had always been in the hearing of.

I shall not recite in this place all the passages which show how much the common people were offended at the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ. Many of them have already passed before the eye of the reader, and many others will be produced in different connexions. It will be found, that even at and after the council of Nice, the unitarians continued to speak their sentiments with the greatest freedom,
and

and always exclaimed against the prevailing doctrines, as no less *new* than *absurd*. Little were those writers who have inadvertently recorded these circumstances aware of the value of the information which they were hereby giving to posterity. Had Tertullian, Origen, and others, thought more highly than they did of the common people, we should probably never have known from them what their opinions and feelings were. But, happily for us, these writers thought meanly of the common people, and speaking of them with contempt, or pity, have, without design, given us very useful and valuable lights into this very important circumstance in the history of their times.

I shall now give an account of the manner which the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were first proposed by the most learned and distinguished persons of their age; and we shall find that it was with much diffidence, and the air of an *apology*, as if they were sensible that the doctrines were *new*, and might not easily recommend themselves. For this purpose I shall, in the first place, produce an extract

from the writings of Justin Martyr, who was probably the first who publicly maintained these doctrines.

He represents Trypho as saying, concerning the doctrine of the incarnation, “it is so extraordinary, that it can never be proved. That this Christ was a God, existing before the ages, and then born a man, is not only extraordinary, but ridiculous. To this I answered, I know that this doctrine appears strange, and especially to those of your race,” that is, to the Jews*. It is evident from this passage, that Justin thought that this doctrine would appear strange to others, besides the Jews; and as he proceeds, it will appear that he took care not to lay too much stress on this new doctrine, lest he should not be able to prove it satisfactorily.

“It will not follow that he is not the Christ, though I should not be able to prove

* Παραδόξος τις γὰρ ὥς τε καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ὡς ἀποδειχθῆναι δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. το γὰρ λεγεῖν σε, πρεσβερχεῖν θεόν οὐκ ἀπὸ αἰῶνων τέλος τὸν χριστόν. εἶλα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπον γενομένου υπομείναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔκ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἀνθρώπου, ἢ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρον. Καγὼ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπον, οἶδ' ὅτι παράδοξόν ἐστι λόγος δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν ὑμῶν. Dial. p. 232, 233.

“that

“ that he pre-existed, as God, the son of
 “ him that made all things, and that he
 “ became a man by the virgin ; it being
 “ proved that he is the Christ, the Son of
 “ God, whoever he was ; though I should
 “ not prove that he pre-existed, but was a
 “ man of the same passions with ourselves,
 “ having flesh, and being subject to his
 “ Father’s will. It will be right to say,
 “ that in this only I have been mistaken,
 “ and not that he is not the Christ, though
 “ he should appear to be a man born as other
 “ men are, and to be made Christ by elec-
 “ tion. For there are some of our race,
 “ who acknowledge him to be Christ, but
 “ hold that he was a man born like other
 “ men. With them I do not agree, nor
 “ should I do so, though ever so many,
 “ being of the same opinion, should urge
 “ it upon me ; because we are commanded
 “ by Christ himself, not to obey the teach-
 “ ings of men, but what was taught by the
 “ holy prophets and himself.” Trypho
 says, “ They who say that he was a man,
 “ born like other men, and that he became
 “ Christ by election,” i. e. the appointment

of God, “ seem to hold a doctrine more
 “ credible than yours. For all of us ex-
 “ pect that Christ will be a man, born like
 “ other men, and that Elias will come to
 “ anoint him. If, therefore, this person
 “ be the Christ, he must by all means be
 “ a man born like other men*.”

This diffidence of Justin agrees remarkably well with the supposition, that the

* Οὐκ ἀπολλύται το τοῦτον εἶναι χριστὸν τὸ θεὸν εἰαν ἀποδείξει μὴ
 δύναμαι οἱ καὶ πρὸς πηρῶν, υἱὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τῶν ὁλῶν θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγε-
 νῆσαι ἀνθρώπος διὰ τῆς παρθενῆς. Ἀλλὰ ἐκ παλῆος ἀποδείκνυμεν οἱ
 εἶς ἐστὶν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ τὸ θεὸν, ὅστις εἶδος ἐστὶν, εἰαν δὲ μὴ ἀποδείκνυται οἱ
 πρὸς πηρῶν καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπῳ ὅμοιοπαθὲς ἡμῖν, σὰρκα ἐχὼν, καὶ αὐτὴν
 τὴν τὴν παλῆος βιβλίαν, ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐν τῷ πεπλανησθῆναι μὲ μόνον λέγειν
 δικαίον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι οἱ εἶδος ἐστὶν ὁ χριστὸς, εἰαν φαίνεται ὡς ἀν-
 θρώπῳ ὅτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθείς, καὶ ἐκλογὴ γενομένη ὅτι εἰς τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι
 ἀποδείκνυται. Καὶ γὰρ εἰσι τινες, ὡ φίλοι ἐλέγον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων
 γεννῶν ὁμοιογενῆς αὐτὸν χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀνθρώπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενο-
 μένον ἀπεφαίνοντο. Οἱς, καὶ συγγίνομαι, καὶ εἰαν πλείοι ταῦτα μοι δοξά-
 σαί τις εἴποιεν, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἐκ ἀνθρωπείων διδασκαλίαις κεκλεισμέναι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
 τῶν χριστῶν πείθεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μαμαριῶν προφητῶν κηρυχ-
 θῆναι καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν διδάσκειν. Καὶ ὁ Τρυφῶν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκῶσιν, εἶπεν,
 οἱ λεγόντες ἀνθρώπον γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκλογὴν κεκρίσθαι, καὶ
 χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι, πιθανώτερον ὑμῶν λέγειν, τῶν ταῦτα ἀπὲρ φησὶ λεγόν-
 των. καὶ γὰρ παλῆες ἡμεῖς τὸν χριστὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδο-
 κοῦμεν γεννησθῆναι. καὶ τὸν Ἐλίαν χριστῶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. εἰαν δὲ εἶδος
 φαίνεται ὡς ὁ χριστὸς, ἀνθρώπον μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένον ἐκ παλῆος
 ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ. Dial. p. 233.

unitarians were originally no less than the whole body of christians, and that the trinitarians were the innovators, appearing at first modest and candid, as was natural while they were a small minority, though they grew bold and imperious when they became the majority.

Independently of any nice construction of this passage, we may safely say, that if the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ had not been at least a *very general* opinion in the time of Justin, he would never have spoken of it with so much tenderness and respect as he has done, considering how very different it was from his own opinion, his defence of which has sufficiently the appearance of an apology. He even intimates some degree of doubt with respect to his opinion, when he says that, if he should not be able to prove it, the fundamental doctrine of christianity, viz. that of the messiahship of Jesus, would not be affected by it. Why should he provide this retreat, if he had not had some secret suspicion of the ground on which he stood. He calls the unitarians *some*, as if

2

they

they were the minority ; but the term is indefinite, and may apply to the majority ; and from the complexion of the whole passage, I have no doubt but that Justin was aware that it was so, and that, with a view to this, he added, that he should not be influenced by that consideration.

That Justin's language is that of a man who knew that he was advancing a *new* opinion, is evident, as I said, from the general air and complexion of it ; and the more we attend to it, the more sensible we shall be of the justness of this construction.

1. Let it be considered, that in this place, as well as in his writings in general, he *labours* the proof of the pre-existence of Christ, shewing that it is consonant to the principles of Platonism, and also deducible from the writings of Moses, and other parts of the Jewish scriptures, without referring to any other writer in support of what he advances.

2. He does not use a single acrimonious expression against those who differed from him with respect to it, which is just as any man would do who should write in defence
of

of a novel, or not very prevalent opinion, and one, of which himself was the principal abettor.

3. He talks of not being overborne by the authority of any number of men, even his fellow christians, but would adhere to the words of Christ, and the sense of scripture; which is a stile almost peculiar to those whose opinions are either quite novel, or at least not very prevalent.

4. The phrase, "neither do I agree with the majority of christians, who may have objected to my opinion," which is nearly the most literal rendering of the passage (though I would not be understood to lay much stress on that circumstance) will naturally be construed to mean that the majority actually did make the objection, or that Justin suspected they might make it.

When I consider these circumstances, and also how apt all persons are to make their own party more numerous than it really is, I am inclined to think that even, if the passage might bear such a construction as that Justin meant to insinuate that the majority were with him, yet that it would not

be the most natural construction, or a sufficient authority to conclude that such was the fact. I therefore think that, upon the whole, the passage has all the appearance of an apology for an opinion different from that which in his time was commonly received on the subject.

I am no doubt, influenced in my construction of this particular passage by the persuasion that I have, from other independent evidence, that the unitarians were in fact, the majority of christians in the time of Justin; that he therefore knew this to be the case, and could not mean to insinuate the contrary. Another person having a different persuasion concerning the state of opinions in that age, will naturally be inclined to put a different construction upon this passage. In this case I only wish that he would suspend his judgment till he has attended to my other arguments, and afterwards he may perhaps see this passage in the same light in which I do.

The word γεν⁹ I think, refers to natural descent; and I therefore conclude that Justin here meant not christians in general,
but

but Gentile christians in particular; because, as he is opposing the opinion concerning Christ, which made him to be a *man born of men*, not to the doctrine of the miraculous conception, but only to his pre-existence (though I think it probable, that most, if not all, who believed in the *simple humanity*, were also in that age believers in the *natural birth* of Christ) the only idea that he had in his mind, and to which he attended, was that of his *simple humanity*, and we have positive evidence that this was the doctrine of all the Jewish christians, so that he could not speak of some of them holding it and others not. Whereas the Gentile christians were divided on that subject; and some of them, even later than this, viz. in the time of Origen, held that in the strictest sense of the expression, Jesus was a man born of man, being the son of Joseph as well as of Mary. I therefore think that Justin meant the Gentile christians, omitting the Jewish christians, whose sentiments he might suppose to have been well known to the learned Jew, with whom he was

con-

converſing. It was as if he had ſaid, Not only do thoſe chriſtians who are of *your* race, viz. Jews, believe Chriſt to be a mere man, born as other men are, but there are alſo ſome of *our* race, viz. Gentile chriſtians, who hold the ſame opinion.

I ſhall conclude this article with obſerving, that, without attending to minute criticisms, it is quite ſufficient for my purpoſe, that theſe ancient unitarian chriſtians, whether they held the miraculous conception or not, whether they were Jews or Gentiles, or whether Juſtin meant to repreſent them as ſtrictly ſpeaking the majority of chriſtians, or otherwiſe, were not treated by him as *heretics*. From this circumſtance alone, it may be concluded, that they were very numerous, becauſe, whenever unitarians have not been very numerous, and have not made a reſpectable figure among chriſtians, they have always been conſidered with great abhorrence, and have been cut off from communion with thoſe of the orthodox perſuaſion.

With

With what rancour does Eusebius treat this class of christians, both in his History, and in his Treatise against Marcellus of Ancyra, when we know from Athanasius, and other authorities, that they were at that time very numerous (though among the lower classes of people) and probably in all parts of the christian world.

When these things are duly considered, it can hardly be imagined but that, let this passage in Justin be construed in any manner that the words can possibly bear, it will be sufficiently to my purpose, and authorize all the use that I have ever made of it. But I can very well spare the passage altogether, thinking that I have evidence enough of my general position without it.

If we consider the time in which Justin wrote, viz. about A. D. 140, that is, about eighty years after the time of the apostles, and compare it with the account that Tertullian and others give of the state of opinions among the Jews and Gentiles in their time, we can hardly doubt (whether Justin confesses it or not) that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ must

must have been the prevailing one in his time. According to the ancient Fathers, the Jews, meaning the Jewish christians, were so fully persuaded concerning the simple humanity of their Messiah, that the apostles did not chuse to inform them, except in an indirect manner, that Christ was any thing more than a man, and the Gentiles were drawn by the Jews into the same opinion; and though John was supposed to speak more plainly, we find no effect from it.

Since, therefore, it was only an indirect evidence of the divine or super-angelic nature of Christ, that the Jewish christians (by whom the gospel was communicated to the Gentiles) were ever favoured with; can it be thought probable, so highly averse as the account itself states the Jews to have been to the idea of any super-human nature in Christ, that they should, by their own reasoning alone on the subject, have generally abandoned their favourite doctrine in so short a time as fourscore years? Or, if from some most unaccountable cause, and without any person of great authority to lead them,

them to it (for no such authority can we trace) they should have abandoned their original and favourite doctrine, is it probable that they would have been so extremely active and successful in the propagation of their new opinion, and withal have found the Gentiles so very pliant as to have been able to induce the generality of them to make the same change, when at the same time they are known to have had but little connexion, and indeed but little respect for each other? Is a period of eighty years naturally sufficient for these two successive changes?

But if we take another well authenticated circumstance, we shall be obliged to reduce this short space (too short as it already is for the purpose) to one still shorter. Hegefippus, as explained by Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius's ecclesiastical history, says, that the church of Jerusalem continued a virgin, or free from heresy, till the death of Simeon, who succeeded James the Just, that is, till the time of Trajan, or about the year 100, or perhaps 110, for his reign began A. D. 98, and ended A. D.

117. Knowing, therefore, from other circumstances, what this purity of christian faith was, and what Hegeſippus muſt have known it to be, we have only the ſpace of forty, or perhaps, thirty years for ſo great a change. So rapid at that particular period muſt have been that movement, which we find by experience to be naturally one of the very ſloweſt in the whole ſyſtem of nature, viz. the revolution of opinions in great bodies of men. Can it then be thought probable that, conſidering the Jewiſh and Gentile chriſtians as one body, the generality of them ſhould have abandoned the doctrine of the ſimple humanity of Chriſt, in the time of Juſtin Martyr.

On the contrary, it is certainly not at all improbable, that the more learned and philoſophical of the chriſtians, beginning to be aſhamed of *a crucified man* for their ſaviour, and firmly believing the doctrine of the pre-exiſtence of *all ſouls*, and of their deſcent into human bodies, ſhould have begun to fancy that Chriſt muſt have had ſome origin ſuperior to that of other men, that this ſhould firſt of all produce
the

the opinions of the Gnostics, who thought that *the Christ*, who came down from heaven, was quite distinct from the man *Jesus*, and felt nothing of his pains or sorrows ; or that these opinions being rejected through the authority of the apostles, the generality of christian teachers or bishops (many of whom were educated in the Platonic school at Alexandria) should afterwards apply the Platonic doctrine of the *logos* to the same subject, and that by their influence, opinions leading to the *deification of Christ* should gradually gain ground among the common people. But this must have been a work of *time*, so that the majority of christians could hardly have been infected with these principles so early as the time of Justin Martyr.

Irenæus, who wrote forty years after Justin, makes no mention of any Gentile unitarians, in his works against heresy, but only of the Ebionites ; and what he says of them is a very small proportion of the whole of his work. And almost all the orthodox Fathers, both before and after the council

of Nice, make laboured apologies for their seeming to teach the doctrine of *more Gods than one*. This circumstance is a sufficient indication that the trinitarians were then the minority, as their violence and insolence afterwards shows, that if they were not the majority, at least they had the advantage of *power* in their favour.

As the advocates for the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, advanced it with caution and with apology, as being sensible that they were not likely to be well received; so, on the other hand, it appears that the unitarians did express the greatest *dread* of them, as the introduction of *polytheism*. Several instances of this have been produced already, and others will appear in different connexions, especially when I shall show the zeal with which the ancient unitarians defended their tenets. But I shall in this place introduce a few others.

Origen says, “ Because it is probable that
“ some will be *offended* with our saying, that
“ the Father being called the only true God,
“ there are other gods besides him partaking
“ of

“ of his divinity*.” Novatian speaks of the unitarians as *scandalized* at the doctrine of the divinity of Christ†.” And the state of things was not different about the time of the council of Nice. Eusebius. in his controversy with Marcellus, says, “ If “ they are *afraid* of making two Gods‡.” “ Some for *fear* of introducing a second “ God, make the Father and the Son the “ same||.” “ Marcellus, for fear of saying “ there are two Gods, denies the Son to be a “ separate person §.” And again, “ But you

* Αλλ’ ἐπεὶ εἶκος προσκοψεῖν τινὰς τοῖς εἰρημενοῖς, ἐνός μὲν ἀληθινῶς θεοῦ τῶ πατρὶος ἀπεγγελλομένου, παρὰ δὲ τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν θεῶν πολλῶν τῇ μέλει τῶ θεῷ γινόμενων. Comment. vol. 2. p. 47.

† Sed quia oblectantes adversus veritatem semper hæretici sinceræ traditionis, et catholicæ fidei controversiam solent trahere, scandalizati in christum quod etiam deus et per scripturas adferatur, et a nobis hoc esse credatur, merito a nobis, ut omnis a fide nostra auferri possit hæretica calumnia, de eo quod et deus sit Christus, sic est disputandum, ut non impediatur scriptura veritatem Cap. 30. p. 115.

‡ Εἰ δὲ φόβον αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖ, μὴ πῶς ἀρὰ δύο θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν δοξᾷ. Ec. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 69.

|| Οἱ δὲ, φοβῶ τὴ δοκεῖν δευτέρου εἰσηγεῖσθαι θεόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα ἢ υἱὸν ὀρίσασμενοι. Ibid. cap. 3. p. 62.

§ Ο μὲν γὰρ, δεῖ τῶ μὴ δύο θεοὺς εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἀρνήσιν τῶ υἱὸς πατρὸς ἀλλήλου, τὴν ὑποτάσιν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ. Ibid. cap. 10. p. 69.

“are *dreadfully afraid* lest you should be
 “obliged to acknowledge two hypostases
 “of the Father and Son *.”

In short, it appears that the ancient unitarians entertained the same *dread* of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that the trinitarians of this day do of that of his simple humanity; a proof that each of them had been brought up in the persuasion of the opinions they held, being the doctrine of their ancestors, and of the apostles. In this the ancient unitarians could not be mistaken, but the trinitarians of the present age may very well be so. Whether, therefore, we consider the feelings of the unitarians, or those of the trinitarians of the early ages, we perceive evident traces of the former maintaining an *old* opinion, and the latter a *new* one.

* Αλλὰ αγωνίας μη δυο θεας αναγκη παραδεξασθαι τον δυο υποστασεις πατρος η υιου και ομολογενια, Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 109.

CHAPTER XV.

Objections to the preceding State of Things considered.

THAT I may conceal nothing from my readers that can tend to throw any light on this subject, I shall fairly state every objection that I have yet met with, to any part of the evidence that I have produced.

SECTION I.

Of the Testimony of Eusebius to the Novelty of the Unitarian Doctrine.

IT is alledged by Eusebius, the historian, or rather Caius (who is supposed to be the author that he quotes, and who, Photius says*, wrote *The Little Labyrinth*,

* Γαίος τινος πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίρωντος ὃν φασὶ συντάξαι καὶ τὸν λαβυρινθον. — Τὸν λαβυρινθον τινες ἐπιγράψαν Οὐριγενεὺς, ὅτι Γαίος ἐστὶ πρῶτονμα. Bib. sect. 48. p. 35.

which is thought to be the work that Eusebius copied from) is so far from confirming this account of the great antiquity of the unitarians, that he expressly asserts that they were a modern sect. That this charge, with the evidence, may be fairly before the reader, I shall quote the passage in which it is contained at full length.

“ Artemon made Christ a mere man.
“ They who hold this doctrine pretend that
“ it is very ancient ; for they say that all
“ the primitive christians, and the apostles
“ themselves, received and taught it, and
“ that the truth was preserved till the time
“ of Victor, the thirteenth bishop of Rome
“ from Peter, but that it was corrupted in
“ the time of his successor Victorinus,
“ This might appear probable, if, in the
“ first place, the sacred scriptures were not
“ against it ; and if there were not writings
“ of christians now extant, older than the
“ time of Victor, which they wrote against
“ the heathens and against heresies. I mean
“ those of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens,
“ and many others, in all of which Christ is
“ spoken of as a God. Who is unacquainted
“ with

“ with the writings of Irenæus, Melito, and
 “ others, speaking of Christ as God and
 “ man ? How many psalms and hymns also
 “ are there, written by christians from the
 “ beginning, in which Christ is celebrated
 “ as a God—How were they not ashamed
 “ to speak thus falsely of Victor, knowing
 “ very well that Victor excommunicated
 “ Theodotus, the leader and father of that
 “ God-denying heresy, who first said, that
 “ Christ was a mere man *.”

* Την γὰρ τοι δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν ψιλον ἀνθρώπον γινεσθαι τον
 σωτήρα φασκουσιν ἔτι πολλὰ νεώτερισθειςαν διευδυνων. Ἐπειδὴ
 σεμνυνει αὐτήν ὡς ἀν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης ἠθέλον εἰσηγήηαι. Φασὶ γὰρ
 τες μὲν παρότεραις ἀπαντίας καὶ αὐτὴς τὰς ἀποστολὰς παρειληφέναι τε καὶ
 δεδιδάχκεναι ταύτα, αὖ νυν εἰοὶ λεγασὶ καὶ τήρησθαι τὴν ἀληθειαν τὰ
 κηρυγμάτων μετρί των βικτόρος χρόνων, ὡς ἡν τρισκαίδεκάτος ἀπὸ Πέτρου
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπὸς. ἀπὸ δὲ τὰ διαδοχὰς αὐτὴς Ζεφυρίνης, παρακεχα-
 ραχθαι τὴν ἀληθειαν. ἡν δ' ἂν τύχον τιθάνον το λεγομενον, εἰ μὴ παλαιόν
 μὲν ἀνεπιπτόν αὐτοῖς αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δὲ τινῶν ἐστὶ γραμ-
 μάλα πρεσβύτερα των βικτόρος χρόνων, αὗται οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀληθείας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε αἵρεσεις ἐγράψαν. λεγὼ δὲ Ἰεστίνης καὶ Μιλ-
 τιάδης καὶ Ταλιανῆς καὶ Κλημενίου καὶ ἑτέρων πλείονων ἐν οἷς ἀπασὶ θεολογεῖ-
 ται ὁ χριστός. τὰ γὰρ Εἰρηναίου τε καὶ Μεσίλωνος καὶ των λοιπῶν τὶς ἀγ-
 νοεὶ βιβλία, θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπον καταγγέλλοντα τον χριστόν; ψαλμοὶ δὲ
 ὅσοι καὶ ὡδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πῶτων γραφεῖσθαι, τον λόγον τε θεοῦ
 τον χριστόν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογούνης. Πῶς δὲ καὶ αἰδέναι ταύτα βικτόρος κα-
 τὰφενδεσθαι. ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, οἱ βικτωρ τον σκευεῖα θεοδόλον τον ἀρχηγόν
 καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησίθεα ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκηρύξε τῆς κοινωνίας,
 παλαιόν

In these passages we have an account of the claims of the ancient unitarians to the high antiquity of their doctrine. And it has been seen that, by the general acknowledgment of the Fathers, and of Eusebius himself, among the rest, that the first doctrine that was taught by the apostles, was that of the simple humanity of Christ; and that his divinity was very little known till it was published by John, after the death of the other apostles. Eusebius, therefore, denying it in this case, is not at all to be regarded, since it is contrary to all other evidence, and also to the reason of the thing, as I have abundantly proved, unless he had brought some sufficient proof to counteract that evidence. What he has offered of this kind I shall distinctly consider, after I have produced a passage from Theodoret, in which he also mentions the claim of the unitarians to the antiquity of their doctrine. “Artemon,” he says, “taught that Christ “was a mere man, born of a virgin, and ex-

πρῶτον εἰπονῖα ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον τὸν χριστόν; εἰ γὰρ βίβλῳ καὶ αὐτὸς
 κίως ἐφρονεῖ ὡς ἡ τείων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἀν ἀπεβάλλε θεοδόλου
 τὸν τῆς αἵρεσεως ταύτης εὐρέτην. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 252.

“ celling the prophets in virtue. This, he
 “ says, the apostles taught, perverting the
 “ sense of the sacred scriptures, but that
 “ those who came after them made a God of
 “ Christ, who was not God*.” It appears
 also from Eusebius’s answer to Marcellus,
 that he also charged his opponents with
 holding a new doctrine, and scrupled not to
 call that doctrine *heresy* †.

The first argument of Eusebius is, that
 the sacred scriptures are against the unita-
 rians. This, however, is a matter of *opi-*
nion, in which he might be, and I doubt not
 was, mistaken. He then mentions the
 writings of some persons who held the doc-
 trines of the pre-existence and divinity of
 Christ, viz. Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, and

* Τον δὲ κυρίον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀνθρώπου εἶπε ψῆλον, ἐκ παρθενῆς γε-
 γεννημένον, τῶν δὲ προφητῶν ἀρετὴν κρείττονα. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀποστόλης
 ἔλεγε κεκηρυχέναι, παρερμηνεύων τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν διανοίαν, τῆς
 δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνης θειολογῆσαι τὸν χριστὸν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνθρωπον. Hær. Fab. lib. 2.
 cap. 4. Opera, vol. 4. p. 220.

† Ψῆλον γὰρ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπινῳ λόγῳ ὁμοίον, ὡς δὲ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς
 ζωῆα καὶ υφ’ ὧνά, τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι ὁμολογεῖν ἐθέλει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ταύτην
 εἶπε ἐπινοεῖσθαι νῦν αἵρεσιν, &c. Contra Marcellum, lib. 1.
 p. 19.

Clemens.

Clemens. But of these Justin was the oldest, and it is not denied that he *did* hold those doctrines, being probably the first who advanced them. Who the Clemens is that he mentions, he does not say; but had it been Clemens Romanus, it is probable that he would have placed him first, the rest being named in the order of time in which they flourished; and besides, there is nothing in the epistle of Clemens that is in the least favourable to those doctrines. Consequently, it must have been Clemens Alexandrinus that he intended, and therefore the highest antiquity of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ that Eusebius could prove, is that of Justin.

Pearson makes no difficulty of contradicting Eusebius in this case. His opponent, Mr. Daillé, having said, *if that account be true*, he replies, “ He knew very
“ well that, strictly speaking, it was not
“ true; for he knew many others, long
“ before Theodotus, and not a few even
“ before Ignatius, who taught the same
“ heresy, a catalogue of whom may be seen
“ in

“ in Epiphanius *,” and whom he proceeds to mention.

Eusebius’s reply to Marcellus’s charge of novelty is equally unsatisfactory, as he only, in a general way, refers to writings older than those of Origen, in all which he says he found the same faith †.

As to the *hymns* used by christians, and said by Eusebius to have been *from the beginning*, no inference can be safely drawn from them, because *divinity* may be ascribed to persons in very different senses, and some of them very innocent ones, especially in

* Theodotum novissè rursus pernego. Dallæus ipse dubitanter hæc proponit, si vera sunt, inquit, quæ Caius, sive alius apud Eusebium scriptor vetustissimus dicit, Theodotum scilicet primum asseruisse Christum fuisse nudum hominem; ipse enim optime novit hæc, si stricte sumantur, vera non esse: novit alios quamplurimos diu ante Theodotum, non paucos etiam ante Ignatium, eandem hæresin promulgasse, quorum catalogus apud Epiphanium legitur. Vindiciæ, lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 24.

† Εγώ δε και Ωριγενης παλαιωτερων ανδρων, πλειστοις οσοις εκκλησιαστικοις συγγραμματα εηλελυχηκα. επισκοπων τε και συνοδων επιστολαις, προπαλαι γραφεισαις, δι ων εις και αυτος ο της πιστεως χαρακτηρ αποδεικνυται. εκ ορθως αρα διαβεβληκεν ειπων επινοεισθαι την νυν αιρεσιν υπο των διαβαλλομενων. Contra Marcellum, lib. 1. p. 20.

the language of poetry ; and as to the antiquity of these hymns, as the historian has not mentioned the age of them, it is very possible, for any thing that appears to the contrary, that they might have been those very hymns which were rejected by Paulus Samosatensis on account of their novelty.

It is likewise alledged, that Pliny says, that “ the christians on a certain day, before “ it was light, met to sing a hymn to Christ “ as to God (or a God) *.” But as to this writer, if he had been told that hymns were sung by christians in honour of Christ, being himself a heathen, he would naturally imagine that they were such hymns as had been composed in honour of the heathen gods, who had been men. He would be far from concluding from that circumstance, that Christ was considered by his followers either as the supreme God, or as a pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world under God.

* *Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti statò die, ante lucem convenire ; carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere. Epist. 97.*

SECTION II.

Of the Excommunication of Theodotus by Victor.

THE argument that is urged with the most plausibility against the antiquity of the unitarian doctrine, is that which is drawn from the excommunication of Theodotus, by Victor, bishop of Rome, about the year 200 ; as it may be said, that this bishop, violent as he was, would not have proceeded to the public excommunication of a man whose opinions were not generally obnoxious.

I wish that we had a few more particulars concerning this excommunication of Theodotus, as it is the first of the kind that is mentioned in history. It is to be observed, that it is not Caius, the writer quoted by Eusebius, who says that he was excommunicated on account of his being an unitarian, but Eusebius himself *; so that,

* Ησαν δε αυτοι αμφω Θεοδότῃς τῆ σκευῆως μαθηταί, τῶ πρώτῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνῃ, ἀφορισθέντες τῆς κοινῆς ὑποβίβλου ὡς εἶπεν, τῶ τότε ἐπισκόπῳ. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. p. 253.

considering

considering the writer's prejudices, there may be some room to doubt, whether he *was* excommunicated on that account.

The unitarians, it has been seen, said that Victor favoured their doctrine, and this we find asserted in the Appendix to Tertullian's Treatise, *De Præscriptione*, which, whether written by Tertullian himself, or not, is probably as good an authority as that of Eusebius. He says that, after the two Theodotus's, "Praxeas introduced his
"heresy into Rome, which Victorinus endeavoured to strengthen. He said that
"Jesus Christ was God the Father omnipotent, that he was crucified, suffered,
"and died, &c.*" Victorinus, in this passage, Beaufobre says †, it is agreed, should be Victor, and it cannot be supposed, that he would have patronized in Praxeas the same doctrine for which he had before excommunicated Theodotus. The probabi-

* Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic deum patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit; hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum. Ad Finem, p. 223.

† Histoire de Manichéisme, vol. i. p. 533.

lity, therefore, is, that Theodotus was excommunicated on some other account than that of his being an unitarian.

Theodotus having been excommunicated as an unitarian, is not consistent with that general prevalence of the unitarian doctrine in the time of Tertullian (which was also that of Victor) which we have seen that Tertullian expressly asserts. However, the account of Eusebius, though improbable, may be admitted without denying that of Tertullian, when the circumstances attending them are duly considered.

Tertullian lived in Africa, where there seems to have been a greater inclination for the unitarian doctrine than there was at Rome; as we may collect from the remarkable popularity of Sabellius in that country, and other circumstances. Athanasius also, who complains of many persons of low understanding favouring the same principle, was of the same country, residing chiefly in Egypt; though he had seen a great part of the christian world, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with the state of it.

We should likewise consider the peculiarly violent character of Victor, who was capable of doing what few other persons would have attempted ; being the same person who excommunicated all the eastern churches, because they did not observe Easter at the same time that the western churches did, for which he was much censured by many bishops, even in the west.

Such an excommunication as this of Theodotus was by no means the same thing with cutting a person off from communion with any particular church, with which he had been used to communicate. Theodotus was a stranger at Rome, and it is very possible that the body of the christian church in that city did not interest themselves in the affair ; the bishop and his clergy only approving of it. For I readily grant that, though there were some learned unitarians in all the early ages of christianity, the majority of the clergy were not so.

Theodotus, besides being a stranger at Rome, was a man of science, and is said by the unitarians to have been well received by Victor at first ; so that it is very possible

possible that the latter might have been instigated to what he did by some quarrel between them, of which we have no account.

Upon the whole, therefore, though Victor excommunicated this Theodotus, who was a stranger, and had, perhaps, made himself conspicuous, so as to have given some cause of umbrage or jealousy to him, it is very possible that a great proportion of the lower kind of people, who made no noise or disturbance, might continue in communion with that church, though they were known to be unitarians.

There is no instance, I believe, of any person having been excommunicated for being an unitarian before Theodotus.—Whereas, had the universal church been trinitarian from the beginning, would not the first unitarians, the first broachers of a doctrine so exceedingly offensive to them, as in all ages it has ever been, have experienced their utmost indignation, and have been expelled from all christian societies with horror.

SECTION III.

Of the Part taken by the Laity in the Excommunication of the early Unitarians, and other Considerations relating to the Subject.

IT is particularly remarkable, that we read of none of the *laity* having been excommunicated on account of their unitarian principles, which they were well known to hold. And whenever any of the bishops were deposed on this account, it is also remarkable, that the common people appear to have been their friends. None of the laity were excommunicated along with Noetus, about A. D. 220, with Sabellius, about A. D. 255. (See Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. 4. p. 593.) Paulus Samosatensis, A. D. 269, or Photinus, A. D. 344, &c. After the bishops had deposed Paulus Samosatensis, it is observable, that only sixteen signed the condemnation (Eusebii, *Hist. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 359*) and he could not be expelled from the episcopal house
till

till the aid of the emperor Aurelian was called in ; and *he* may be supposed to have been offended at him for his having been in the interest of his rival Zenobia. This could not have been necessary, if the majority of his people had not been with him, and therefore, if his deposition had not, in fact, been unjust.

Besides, the prosecution of Paulus Samosatensis, as Dr. Lardner has observed, was vehemently urged by his presbyter Malchion, who had a quarrel with him. Having been disobliged, he could not be satisfied till he was deposed. Credibility, vol. 4. p. 624. “ He wrote, says Jerom, the
“ large epistle in the name of the coun-
“ cil. Paul had many friends and admi-
“ rers among the bishops and presbyters
“ of the neighbouring churches and vil-
“ lages, and was much beloved and ad-
“ mired by others.” Ibid. p. 640. He could not be expelled in the first council, in 264, when Firmilian of Cappadocia and Gregory of Neocæsarea were present ; and Firmilian was dead at the time of the second council, in 269 or 270. Ibid. p. 534.

Dr. Lardner's account of Paulus Samosatensis, is as follows :

“ As we have not now before us any of
“ Paul's writings, and have his history
“ from adversaries only, we cannot propose
“ to judge distinctly of his talents, nor draw
“ his character at length. However, from
“ the several particulars before put down,
“ and collected from divers authors, some
“ things may be concluded. And I apprehend that, laying aside for the present the
“ consideration of his heterodoxy, we shall
“ not mistake much if we conceive of him
“ after this manner. He had a great mind,
“ with a mixture of haughtiness, and too
“ much affection for human applause. He
“ was generally well respected in his diocese, and by the neighbouring bishops,
“ in esteem with the great, and beloved by
“ the common people. He preached frequently, and was a good speaker. And
“ from what is said by the Fathers of the
“ council, of his rejecting, or laying aside,
“ some hymns, as modern, and composed by
“ moderns, it may be argued, that he was a
“ critic, which is a valuable accomplishment

“ment at all times, especially when un-
“common.” Ibid. p. 644.

He adds, in a note, “A learned writer
“among the moderns (viz. Garnier) whom
“I did not think of when I drew the above
“character, confirms almost every part of it.
“For he allows Paul to have possessed the
“third see in the church, and to have had
“the patronage of a great prince, an ap-
“pearance of piety, reputation for learning,
“flowing eloquence, and the favour of the
“multitude.”

As to Photinus, he was so popular in his
diocese, that his solemn deposition by two
councils, could not remove him from his
see. “He defended himself,” says Tele-
mont (*Hist. of the Arians*, vol. 1. p. 116.)
“against the authority of the church, by
“the affection which his people had for
“him, even to the year 351, though his
“heresy began to appear as early as 342, or
“343, according to Socrates; and the Eu-
“sebiens condemned it in one of their con-
“fessions of faith, in 345.” At length the
Emperor Constantius, a zealous Arian,
thought it necessary to interfere, and to get

him banished, in a council held at Sirmium itself. Had the body of christians in those times been generally trinitarians, the common people would, no doubt, have been ready enough to take an active part against their heretical bishops.

As to Eusebius charging heretics with teaching *new doctrines*, he is remarkably inaccurate and inconsistent with himself in that respect, and so, indeed, are all the other ecclesiastical historians. No unitarian is mentioned, but he is said to have been the *first* to have taught the unitarian doctrine. This language is held even with respect to Photinus, the very last of the celebrated unitarians. But it is possible, as I have observed before, that by *novelty* these writers might sometimes mean nothing more than *heresy*.

The charge of teaching the unitarian doctrine as a novelty, is first advanced against Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, who, perhaps, was the first who *wrote* in defence of the doctrine, that of the divinity of Christ beginning at that time to be prevalent. Eusebius says of him, that

“ he introduced things *new and strange* to
 “ the catholic faith ; having dared to assert,
 “ that our Lord and Saviour did not pre-
 “ exist in his own distinct person before his
 “ incarnation, that he had no proper divi-
 “ nity of his own, but that of the Father
 “ only abiding in him *.”

Sozomen also says, that Marcellus intro-
 duced a new doctrine, that “ the Son of
 “ God had his beginning with his birth of
 “ Mary ;” and yet, in the same section, he
 says of him, that he adopted the opinion of
 Paulus Samosatensis †.

The same writer calls Photinus the in-
 troducer of a new heresy, when, in the same
 chapter, he says, that he held the same opi-

* Βηρυλλ⊙ ο μικρῶ προσθεν δεδηλωμεν⊙ Βοσρων της Αραβιας
 επισκοπ⊙, τον εκκλησιαστικον παρεκτρεπων καινονα, ξενα τινα της
 πιστεως παρεισφερειν επειρατο · τον σωτηρα κ̅ κυριον ημων λεγειν τολμων
 μη παρφεσταναι και, ιδιαν υσιας περιγραφην, προ της εις ανθρωπους
 επιδημιας, μηδε μην θεοτητα ιδιαν εχειν, αλλ’ εμπολιτευομενην αυτω μονην
 την πατρικην. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 33. p. 297.

† Εν δε τω τοτε κ̅ Μαρκελλον Αγκυρας επισκοπον της Γαλατων,
 ως καινων δογματων εισηγητην, κ̅ τον υιον τε θεος λεγοντα εκ Μαρίας
 την αρχην ειληφεναι.—Εις την Παυλε τε Σαμοσαίως εξεκυλισθη
 ροξαν. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 33. p. 91, 92.

nion with Sabellius and Paulus Samosatensis*.

Photinus is also charged with being the author of his own opinion by Socrates †; and yet he had before mentioned him as a disciple of Marcellus ‡.

As to the general testimony of Eusebius, and other writers, who were themselves believers in the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, that the primitive church was orthodox in their sense of the word, it is not, as I said, to be regarded, unless they bring some sufficient proofs of their assertion. They were, no doubt, willing to have it thought so, and, without considering it very particularly, might presume that it was so. But the facts which they them-

* Ἡδὴ πρότερον καινῆς αἵρεσεως εἰσηγήτης γενομένος.—Ὡς τὰ Σαβελλίῳ καὶ Παυλῷ τῷ Σαμοσατέως φρονεῖν. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 135.

† Τότε δὴ καὶ Φωτεινὸς ὁ τῆς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας προεστώς, τὸ παρῑφθέν αὐλῷ δόγμα φανερώτερον ἐξεθρῦλλει. Hist. vol. 2. p. 123.

‡ Φωτεινὸς γὰρ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησιῶν προεστώς, γένος τῆς μικρᾶς Γαλιτίας, Μαρκελλῷ τε τῷ καθηρημένῳ μαθητῇ, ἀκολοθῶν τῷ διδασκαλῷ, ψιλον ἀνδρῶπον, τὸν υἱὸν ἐδόγματισε. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 29. p. 98.

selves

selves record, and the account which they give of the apostles in divulging the orthodox doctrine with so much caution, make it impossible to have been as, in general terms, they assert. I am even surprized that any person should lay the least stress on the mere assertion of a writer in this case, when it is so common for men to represent the opinions of those whose authority they know to be great, as being the same with their own. Every man should be heard with caution in such a case, and what he says on one occasion, should be compared with what he says on another, and especially with what he drops, as it were, accidentally, and when he was off his guard.

This may certainly be said in favour of the unitarians, that they did not contradict themselves on this subject, but uniformly maintained, that theirs was the ancient doctrine, transmitted to them from the apostles; whereas Eusebius manifestly contradicts himself. He certainly knew that Justin Martyr had not only mentioned unitarians, as existing in his time, but had also treated them with much respect; and
to

to say nothing of his own testimony, to the apostle John having been the first who taught with clearness, and consequently with effect, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; he himself speaks of the Ebionites as cotemporary with Cerinthus, who by his own account lived in the time of the apostle John*.

That Eusebius should take so violent a part, as he always does, against the ancient unitarians, is not difficult to be accounted for. He was himself strongly suspected of Arianism, at a time in which the Athanasian doctrine was prevalent, and though a learned man, he was not of the firmest tone of mind. In these circumstances, he would naturally make the most of such pretensions to orthodoxy as he had, and would be inclined to shew his zeal by invectives against those who were more heretical than himself. This we see illustrated every day. This was the cause why many of the reformers from popery joined with the papists, in the persecution of those who were desirous of carrying the reformation farther than them-

* Hist. lib. 3. cap. 27, 28, p. 121, &c.

selves. This might, in some measure, contribute to produce the zeal of the Calvinists against the Arminians, that of the Arminians against the Arians, that of the Arians against the Socinians, and that of Socinus himself against Francis David.

It may be said, that if the great majority of christians in early times were unitarians, why did they not excommunicate the innovating trinitarians. I answer, that the doctrine of the trinity, was not, in its origin, such as could give much alarm, as I have already explained; and it was not obtruded upon the common people as an article of faith necessary to their salvation, or indeed as a thing which they were at all concerned to know. And before it became very formidable, there was a great majority of the learned and philosophizing clergy on its side. However, that it did give very great alarm, as it began to unfold itself, I have produced the most undeniable evidence.

C H A P T E R XVI.

*Of the State of the Unitarian Doctrine after
the Council of Nice.*

THAT the unitarians constituted the great body of christians till the time of Justin Martyr, and that they were the majority at least of the common people till about the time of the council of Nice, has, I presume, been proved to as much satisfaction as the circumstances of the case could be expected to admit. There is every reason to believe that it was so *a priori*, a great number of circumstances, applied by the clearest axioms of historical criticism, shew that it *must* have been so. And there is likewise the strongest *positive testimony* to the fact, from some of the most considerable christian writers. The unitarians were the *major pars credentium*, in
the

the^{re} time of Tertullian, they were the *ο πολλοι*, *the multitude*, and the *τα πολλη*, *the multitudes* of Origen, and the *οι πολλοι*, *the many* of Athanasius.

According to Eutychius, who is said to have compiled his annals from the archives of the church of Alexandria, there must have been more unitarian bishops than the Greek historians give us any account of. He says, that “there were two thousand and forty
“eight bishops assembled at the council
“of Nice, some of whom were Sabellians,
“who believed that Christ had no being
“before he was born of the virgin; others
“saying that God was one substance called
“by three names, but not believing in the
“word, or the Holy Spirit, which,” he says, “was the opinion of Paulus Samosaten-
“ensis; and that Constantine having heard
“their opinions, but approving of that of
“three hundred and eighteen, who held
“the same doctrine, he appointed them to
“meet in a large room, and gave them
“power to make decrees.” The same account Selden, the publisher of Eutychius,

chius, found in an Arabian and christian writer, named Joseph, and also in a celebrated Mahometan historian, Ismael Ebn Ali.

This account, though seemingly very different from that of the other ecclesiastical historians, Beaufobre thinks may be reconciled with it, if it be supposed that the bishops of villages, presbyters, and those who were deemed heretical, were not allowed to have a seat with the rest *. Wormius, he observes, says that no sectary was allowed to give his opinion in that council †.

* *Histoire de Manicheisme*, vol. i. p. 531.

† Mittens ergo Constantinus rex in omnes passim regiones patriarchas et episcopos convocavit, adeo ut post annum et duos menses, Niceæ convenirent bis mille quadraginta octo episcopi, sententiis et religionibus inter se discrepantes.—Erant qui dicerent christum a patre esse, instar flammæ ignis quæ ab igne flammante dependeret, nec priorem diminuere posterioris ab ipso derivationem. Erat que hæc Sabellii et affectarum ipsius sententia.—Alii christum hominem fuisse a divinitate creatum ejusdem cum nostrum aliquo substantiæ, filiique principium a Maria fuisse, ipsumque electum qui substantiæ humanæ liberator esset, comitante ipsum gratia divina, et in ipso
per

That the unitarians were exceedingly numerous in the time of Athanasius, or not long before it, especially in Africa, is evident from his complaints on the subject. He says that “in Pentapolis of Upper Lybia,

per amorem et voluntatem habitante, ideoque appellatum fuisse filium dei. Dicentes etiam deum substantiam unam esse, et personam unam quæ tribus nominibus appellatur, nec in verbum, nec in spiritum sanctum credentes : erat hæc sententia Pauli Samosatani patriarchæ Antiochæni, ejusque sectatorum qui Pauliciani audiunt.—Alii (denique) asseruerunt divinitatem Christi; quæ Pauli apostoli sententia est, nec non episcoporum trecentorum et octodecim. auditis ipsorum sententiis miratus est Constantinus rex hanc discrepantiam, domoque ipsis seposita in qua loca ipsis paravit, disputationes ipsos habere jussit, ut perspecto apud quem vera esset fides, ipsum sequeretur. Illi ergo trecentum et octodecim in unam fidem, unamque sententiam consenserunt, cumque reliquis qui litem ipsis moverunt disputantes, illis argumentis suis superiores evaserunt fidemque veram declararunt: reliqui autem episcopi sententiis et religionibus inter se diversi fuerunt: Rex ergo trecentis et octodecim episcopis istis loco quodam proprio et amplo parato, ipse in eorum medio confedit, acceptaque, annulum, gladium et sceptrum suum ipsis tradidit, dicens ipsis, vobis hodie in imperium meum potestatem concessi, ut in eo faciatis quicquid facere vobis expedit eorum quæ ad religionem rite stabilendam et fidelium commodum spectant. Selden's Euty-
chius, p. 439, 440. 443, 444.

“ some of the bishops embraced the doctrine of Sabellius, and prevailed so much, that the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches*.”

S E C T I O N I.

Of the State of the Unitarians from the Time of the Council of Nice, to the Sixth Century.

INOW proceed to mention the traces I have found of unitarians after the council of Nice. And notwithstanding their numbers certainly kept decreasing, owing to the prevalence of the trinitarian and Arian doctrines, each in their turns favoured by the civil powers (which it is remarkable, the unitarian doctrine never was in any age or country) it appears from circumstances, that the unitarians were in considerable numbers, some holding separate assemblies, but

* Εν Πενταπολει της ανω Διδυης τηνικαυτα τινες των επισκοπων εφρονησαν τα Σαβελλις • η τοσχιον ισχυσανται επινοιας, ως ολιγα δειν μηκει ενταις εκκλησιας κηρυττεσθαι τον υιον τε θεου. De Sententia Dionysii, Opera, vol. i. p. 552.

many

many more concealed in the great body of christians, and joining their public worship.

It is highly probable that, even long after the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was established by councils, and the decrees of emperors, many of the common people were well known to believe nothing of the matter ; and yet, if they made no disturbance, and did not think proper to separate themselves from the communion of the orthodox bishops, who were not authorized to propose any test to them, they were not excommunicated. In fact, they were considered by the more learned as simple ignorant people, who acquiesced in the doctrine of the humanity of Christ, because they were incapable of comprehending that of his divinity, and the sublime doctrine of *three persons in one God*. This circumstance, together with there being no distinguished writers among them, and also their being mixed and confounded with other sects, accounts for our hearing so little of them.

Many of the Montanists, besides Praxeas, against whom Tertullian wrote, were probably unitarians. Jerom represents the

Montanists in general, as “differing from
“the orthodox in the rule of faith, and
“agreeing with the Sabellians*.”

Sandius says, that Noetus was said by some to have been the disciple of the Montanists †. According to Socrates, Eusebius said that they who disliked the term *consubstantial* at the council of Nice, charged their adversaries with favouring the sentiments of Sabellius and Montanus ‡.

Nicephorus observes, that “Some Montanists were Sabellians.” He also expressly says, that “they denied the personal existence of the Son, and that he “was consubstantial with the Father ||.”

* Primum in fidei regula discrepamus. Nos patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum in sua unumquemque persona ponimus, licet substantia copulemus: illi, Sabellii dogma sectantes, trinitatem in unius personæ angustias cogunt. Ad Marcellum, Opera, vol. I. p. 414.

† Hist. p. 97.

‡ Οι μεν γαρ τε ομοισις την λεξιν εκκληνοσις την Σαβελλις κ̅ Μιούλων δοξαν εισηγεισθαι αυτην της προσδεχομενης ενομιζον • κ̅ δια τ̅ις της βλασφημιας, εκαλουν, ως αναιρηνιας την υπαρξιν τε υις το θεο • οι δε παλιν τω ομοισιω προσκειμενοι πολυθειαν εισαγειν της ειερ̅ς τομιζοντες, ως ελληνισμον εισαγοηιας, εξειρεποντο. Hist. lib. I. cap. 23. p. 57.

|| Οι μεν γαρ το ομοισιον μη προσιεμενοι, δοξαν εσχον τα Μονταν̅ς κ̅ Σαβελλι̅ς φρεσει, της αυ̅το παραδεχομενης • κ̅ βλασφημιας
εκαλουν

Zonaras also says, that “ Montanus, besides
 “ maintaining that himself was the para-
 “ clete, confounded the whole trinity, con-
 “ tracting it into one person *.” Lastly,
 Harmenopulus, in his account of sects, says
 expressly, that the disciples of Montanus
 reduced the holy trinity to one person †.

Upon the whole, therefore, though Ter-
 tullian was a Montanist, and no unitarian, it
 may be concluded, that the prevailing senti-
 ments of those who went by that name
 were unitarian. Sabellius himself is said
 by Nicephorus, to have learned his doc-
 trine from some of the Montanists ‡. Ac-
 cording to the author of the Appendix to
 to Tertullian’s Treatise De Præscriptione,
 they were only those Montanists who fol-

ελαλθεν ως την τε υιου υπαρξιν αναίρεποιως. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 45.
 p. 637.

* Και εις εν προσωπον την αγιαν τριαδα συτηρεν η συνεχεσεν.
 Canones, p. 78.

† Οι περι τον Μονιανον——εις εν προσωπον την αγιαν συναιρεν-
 τες τριαδα η το πασχα διετρεφον. Harmenopulus de Sectis.

‡ Τινες δε των εξ αυτης, ες υτερον τας τρεις της θεοηλης υποτασεις
 εν ειναι εδοξασαν · τον αυτον λεγοντες ειναι η πατερα η υιον η αγιον
 πνευμα · εξ ων φασι και τον Λιβυν Σαβελλιον, τας της αιρεσεως
 αρχας εκπορισασθαι. Hist. vol. 1. p. 319.

lowed Æschines, who were unitarians, while those who followed Proclus were not so*.

The Donatists, also, who did not separate from the church on this subject, are yet said to have been afterwards heretical with respect to the trinity †.

Jerom says, that Donatus himself wrote a book concerning the Holy Spirit agreeable to the Arian doctrine ‡, which in this respect was the same as the unitarian. Austin also says, that he did not hold the catholic doctrine of the trinity, but that he was not generally followed by those who bore his name. Theodoret says, that the Donatists agree with the Arians||. The probability

* Sunt etiam qui κατὰ Proclum dicuntur. Sunt qui secundum Æschinem pronunciantur—Privatam autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt κατὰ Æschinem hanc habent, qua adjiciunt etiam hoc, ut dicant Christum ipsum esse filium et patrem. Sect. 52. p. 223.

† Cur autem solis Donatistis, qui a schismate profiluerunt in hæresim, ut postea etiam de baptismo et divina trinitate male sentirent. Facundus contra Moci-anum, p. 199.

‡ Extant ejus multa ad suam hæresim pertinentia et de spiritu sancto liber, Ariano dogmati congruens. Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera, vol. 1. p. 311.

|| Οὗτοι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῖς Ἀρείοις συμφέρουσι. Lib. 4. cap. 6. Opera, Ed. Halæ, vol. 4. p. 360.

is, that both Montanus and Donatus, living at a time when the unitarian doctrine was generally received, held it themselves; though their followers, influenced by the same causes that affected other christians, gradually adopted the philosophical opinions.

That the Pelagians should be heretical, with respect to the doctrine of the trinity, will not be wondered at (though Pelagius himself is said to have been orthodox in that respect) as the unitarians of all ages have adopted the sentiments of Pelagius with respect to human nature. Cassian, who met with them in Gaul, evidently considered them in this light. For he censures them as holding that “Christ was a mere man;” and saying that men may live sinless lives, “because Christ, who was a man, did so. “They say, that Jesus became Christ after “his baptism, and God after his resurrection; the one arising from his unction, “the other from the merit of his passion*.”

* Addiderunt quoque dominum, salvatoremque nostrum post baptismum factum esse Christum, post resurrectionem deum: alterum assignantes unctionem mysterio, al-

“ Otherwise,” he says, “ we come to the
 “ Pelagian heresy, and say that God dwel-
 “ led in Christ from a certain time, and
 “ came into him, when, by his life and
 “ conversation, he deserved that the power
 “ of the divinity should dwell in him *.”

Admitting this to be true to any considerable extent, it will not be doubted, but that the unitarians must have been very numerous, because the Pelagians were so. Perhaps the Pelagians, described by Cassian, might be inclined to the opinion of Nestorius. But this, as I shall shew, did not differ from unitarianism with respect to the person of Christ.

terum merito passionis : unde advertit novus nunc jam, non novæ hæreseos autor, qui dominum salvatoremque nostrum solitarium hominem natum esse contendit, idem se omnino dicere quod Pelagianistæ antè dixerunt ; et consequens errori suo esse, ut qui utique sine peccato solitarium hominem Jesum Christum vixisse asserit, omnes quoque per se homines sine peccato posse esse blasphemet. De Incarnatione, lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 966. See also p. 1017, 1018, 1066.

* Alioquin ad illam Pelagianæ hæreseos impietatem devolvimur : ut dicamus ex certo tempore habitantem in Christo deum ; tum in eum supervenisse, quando ille vita et conversatione id promeruerit, ut in se virtus divinitatis habitaret. Hær. lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 1022.

Marius

Marius Mercator says, that Julianus, a Pelagian, adopted the opinion of Theodorus, the master of Nestorius *.

The *simplicity* of the unitarians is a circumstance by which they are generally noted; and by this they were likewise concealed, as giving no umbrage to any. But it does not follow, that because they were styled *simple*, they were persons of low understanding. Tertullian, who gave them that epithet, in answer to the Gnostics, who likewise applied it to the orthodox christians, says, “ we are reckoned simple by “ them, but we are not therefore sense- “ less †.” In a treatise ascribed to Athanasius, the more simple are represented as easily taken with the assertion, that God the

* Simul admonere volens Julianum exepiscopum oppidi Eclanensis, hæreticum Pelagianum seu cælestianum, hunc secutum esse Theodorum. Opera, p. 40.

† Ideoque simplices notamur apud illos, ut hoc tantum, non etiam sapientes : quasi statim deficere cogatur a simplicitate sapientia, domino utramque jungente : Estote prudentes ut serpentes et simplices ut columbæ. Aut si nos propterea insipientes quia simplices. Adv. Valent. sect. 2. Opera, p. 250.

logos suffered in the flesh *. Basil represents “simplicity of faith as a bait with which the ignorant are drawn to their destruction †.” Writing on the subject of the Holy Spirit, he begs that what he wrote “might be concealed from the vulgar, lest it should be throwing pearls before swine ‡.” Gregory Nazianzen also must have felt himself in the same situation, when he said, “Have we not suffered from the mad populace §.”

The doctrine of the trinity being considered as a sublime doctrine, the common people, who could not comprehend, or relish it, but who at the same time made no disturbance in the church, would naturally

* Αλλὰ εἰ τι ξενὸν ἐπινοεῖν πρὸς ἀπαλὴν τῶν ἀπλῶν νεαπαινεύονται, οἷον καὶ τὸ προκειμενὸν νῦν εἰς ἐξέλασιν, Ἐπαθεν ὁ θεὸς λόγος Ἐφρημ. Opera, vol. 2. p. 311.

† Τίλο δὲ παλὴν γνωρίμον, οἷον ὡς περ ἀγκίσφω πρὸς θανάτον ἐλκοντὶ, τῷ εὐλὴ φρονημάτι το ἀπλὸν τῆς ἐπίστασως, οἷον τι δέλεαρ, περιβάλλει, καὶ τῷ φαινόμενῳ ἐπιδράχμονες οἱ ἀπειροῖεροι, ἀφυλακῶς τῷ κακῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας περιπαρῶσιν. Ad Eunom. lib. 1. Opera, vol. 1. p. 701.

‡ Οὐχ ὡς ἀξία καὶ ἀκρυπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥστε μὴ ριπτεσθαι τοῖς χοίροις τῆς μαργαρίτας. De Sp. S. cap. 30. Opera, vol. 2. p. 366.

§ Οὐκ ἐπὶ καμὲν ὄντων μαίνομεν. Or. 32. p. 525.

be pitied and overlooked. Athanasius, considering the violence of his character, speaks of the unitarians with a good deal of tenderness, on account of the difficulty of understanding the doctrine of the trinity. I have quoted a passage from him, in which he represents them as (οἱ πολλοί) *the many*, and persons of a *low understanding*, but by no means as persons out of the church. Contrasting them with the Gnostics and the Arians, he says, “ some persons considering
 “ what is human in Christ, seeing him
 “ thirsting, labouring, and suffering, and
 “ degrading him to a mere man, sin indeed
 “ greatly ; but they may readily obtain for-
 “ giveness if they repent, alledging the
 “ weakness of the flesh ; and they have the
 “ apostle himself administering pardon to
 “ them, and as it were holding out his hand
 “ to them, while he says, *Truly great is the*
 “ *mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the*
 “ *flesh* *.”

* Όταν τινες, εἰς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα βλέποντες, ἰδῶσι τὸν κύριον διψῶντα, ἢ κοπιῶντα, ἢ πᾶσυχοντα, καὶ μόνον φλυαρήσωσιν ὡς καὶ ἄνθρωποι τὰ σω-
 τήριον, ἀμαρτάνουσι μὲν μεγάλως. δύνασθαι δὲ ὁμῶς ταχέως μεταγινώσ-
 κοντες λαμβάνειν συγγνώμην, ἐχόντες προφασιν τὴν τῶ σωματικῷ ἀσθε-

νείαν :

According to him many persons within the pale of the church, must either have been unitarians, or have believed the doctrine of the trinity without understanding it, which, in fact, is no belief at all. For, being consulted what was to be done with respect to the spread of the doctrine of Paulus Samosatensis ; after acknowledging that persons of low understanding were chiefly infected with it, and quoting what Paul says of *the great mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the flesh*, he says, “ those who understand the
 “ subject accurately are few, but all pious
 “ persons may hold the faith delivered to
 “ them *.” But what kind of *holding* must it be, when they had no perfect understanding of what they held.

Gregory Nazianzen also represents the common people as excusable for their errors,

ΒΕΙΛΑΝ: ΕΧΡΑΣΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΥ ΑΠΟΣΘΟΛΟΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΗΝ ΑΥΛΙΟΙΣ ΝΕΜΟΝΤΙΑ, ΚΥ ΟΙΟΥΝΕΙ ΧΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΛΙΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΕΚΛΕΙΝΟΝΤΙΑ, ΟΙΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΩΣ ΜΕΓΑ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΘΕΘ ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ. In illud Evangelii Quicumque dixerit, &c. Opera, vol. 1. p. 975.

* ΟΙΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΚΡΙΒΕΙΑΝ ΑΩΛΗΣ ΕΠΙΖΗΤΕΙΝ ΟΛΙΓΩΝ ΕΣΤΙ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ ΚΑΛΕΧΕΙΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΥΠΕΙΘΩΝ. De Incarnatione contra P. Samosat. Opera, vol. 1. p. 592.

and safe from not being disposed to scrutinize into things *.

Unitarians, however, were far from being all of the common people, and unlearned. There were several considerable writers among them. “Beryllus of Bostra,” Nicephorus says, “left elegant writings behind him †.” Marcellus and Photinus distinguished themselves as writers, and Gregory Nazianzen says, that the heretics boasted of the number of their books ‡. Unhappily there are none of them now extant.

After the establishment of orthodoxy by Constantine, “all the sects,” says Eusebius, “were forbidden to hold separate assemblies;” and among the rest the unita-

* Τοις μὲν γὰρ τὰ λαὸν ταχὺ ἀν καὶ συγγινώσκοιμεν τὸ πᾶσιν ὡς σωζει, πολλὰ το αἵματινον. Oratio 21. Opera, p. 388.

† Ἐν οἷς α, τε τῆς καὶ Βοστρᾶν ἀραδῶν ἡν Βερύλλος, φιλεκαλῶς συνεδρῆς συγγραμματα καὶ ἀλεῖψας. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 15. vol. 1. p. 363.

‡ Καὶ τῷ πλεονεξίᾳ τῶν βιβλίων φιλοτιμώμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ περὶ τριάδος φυσικῶν λόγῳ, καὶ ἀψευδὸν μὲν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔχοντες ἐχόντων περὶ τὴν πίστιν, δελεάζουσι δὲ τὰς πολλὰς. Or. 50. p. 744.

rians,

rians, called Paulians, are mentioned*. But this did not make them change their opinions. For he says that, after Constantine's edict against heresy, some, terrified with the emperor's threats, came into the church, dissembling on account of the times. "For, the law forbidding the publication of their books, some who were taken acting contrary to the law, on that account, consulted their safety by every dissimulation †."

This accounts for the great number of unitarians that Facundus mentions, as being *in the church*, in the time of Theodosius. Their opinions must have been well known, or he could not have been acquainted with

* Επιγνώτε νυν δια της νομοθεσίας ταύτης ω Ναυαλιανοί, Ουαλεντινοί, Μαρκιωνισαί, Παυλιανοί, οι κατὰ τὰς φρυγὰς επικεκλημένοι, και πάντες απλως οι τὰς αἵρεσεις δια των οικειων πληρενὲς συστημάτων—επειδὴ τον ολεθρον τῶνον της ὑμέτερας ἐξώλειας ἐπὶ πλείον φερειν ἢ ἐστίν σιον τε διὰ τε νομὴ τῶν προαγορευομεν, μήλις ὑμῶν συταγειν τὰ λοπὲ τολμηση. De Vita Const. lib. 3. cap. 64. p. 621.

† Οι μεν νοθῶ φρονηματι. βασιλικῆς ἀπειλῆς φοβῶ, την ἐκκλησιαν υπεδυνοντο, τον καιρον καλειρωνευομενοι. ἐπει δὲ και διερευνησθαι των ανδρων τὰς βίβλῆς διηγορευεν ο νομος. ηλιστακοντο τῶν ἀπειρημενας ος κακολεχθῆναις μείοντες. & δὴ χαριν, παντὶ ἐπραττον, ειρωνεια την ζωη-ριαν ποριζομενοι. Ibid. p. 622.

them ;

them ; but they were not molested, while they did not molest others, and wished only to be quiet.

As the passage in his writings, from which I infer this, is a pretty remarkable one, I shall cite it at full length. Speaking of the condemnation of Theodorus (the master of Nestorius, whose system differed very little from that of unitarianism) in whose favour he is writing, he says, that
 “ in condemning him, they condemned all
 “ those who thought as he did, even though
 “ they afterwards changed their opinion.
 “ —What will they do with Martha, and
 “ then with Mary, the sisters of Lazarus,
 “ who were particularly attached to our
 “ Lord, while he was upon earth. And yet
 “ both of them, first Martha, and then Mary,
 “ are said to have spoken to him thus, *Lord,*
 “ *if thou hadst been here, my brother had not*
 “ *died* ; who, though they thought that he
 “ was the Son of God, who was to come
 “ into the world, yet could they not have
 “ said, *if thou hadst been here, if they had*
 “ believed him to be God omnipresent.
 “ They therefore only thought as Theo-
 “ dorus

“ dorus is said to have done, and were
 “ excommunicated along with him. And
 “ how many of this kind do we know, by
 “ the writings of the apostles and evange-
 “ lists, there were at that time; and how
 “ many even now are there still, in the
 “ common herd of the faithful, who by
 “ only partaking in the holy mysteries,
 “ and by a simple observance of the com-
 “ mandments, we see pleasing God; when
 “ even the apostles themselves, the first
 “ teachers, only thought as those whom we
 “ see to be included in this condemnation
 “ of Theodorus *.”

* Condemnaverunt omnes ab ipso in quem illum in-
 cidisse putant errore conversos.—Ubi quid agent de Mar-
 tha et Maria, sororibus Lazari, quæ familiari devotione ipsi
 domino dum hic in carne degerit adhæserunt. Et tamen
 utraque, id est, prius Martha, ac deinde Maria, legitur illi
 dixisse, domine si fuisses hic frater meus non fuisset mor-
 tuus. Quæ licet crederent quod ipse esset filius dei qui in
 mundum venisset, tamen non dicerent *si fuisses hic*, si eum
 cognoscerent sicut deum, ubique esse presentem. Eadem
 ergo sapuerunt quæ dicitur sapuisse Theodorus, et cum
 Theodoro simul anathematizatae sunt. Et quantos vel eo
 tempore in evangelis et apostolicis scriptis tales fuisse cog-
 novimus? Quantos etiam nunc tales in grege fidelium,
 sola sanctorum mysteriorum participatione, et simplici
 præceptorum

If this was the case in the time of Theodosius, there can be no doubt of its having been so in the time of Constantine, and that it continued to be so long afterwards. The candour of Facundus towards these simple unitarians is remarkable, and is well illustrated by his account of the state of the christian faith in the time of the apostles. Speaking of those who believed Christ to be a mere man, he says, “ The apostles
 “ themselves were once imperfect in the
 “ faith, but never heretics. For while
 “ they believed too little concerning Christ,
 “ they received power to cast out unclean
 “ spirits, and to cure diseases, when our
 “ Lord sent them, and gave them a com-
 “ mission. If, therefore, the apostles, in
 “ the very time of their ignorance, were
 “ not heretics, how can any one call these
 “ so who died such,” &c. *? He says,

præceptorum obedientia, placentes deo vidimus; cum et ipsi primi pastores ejus apostoli sic aliquando sapuerunt, quos omnes cum Theodoro vidimus in hoc anathemate condemnatos. Pro Defensione trium Capitulorum, lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 162.

* Cum ipsi apostoli aliquando fuerint in fide imperfecti, nunquam tamen hæretici. Cumque adhuc parum de

“ the woman who touched Christ’s garment did not take him to be God *.”

This testimony of Facundus may teach us, that we are not to take it for granted, that the unitarians were extinct at any particular time, merely because they are by some writers *said* to be so. Epiphanius says, that “ the heresy of Artemon was extinct, when it was revived by Paulus Samosatensis †.” But it could only be that there were few, or none, who went publicly by that name The *οι πολλοι*, *the many* of Athanasius were, no doubt, unitarians, though they might not be call-

Christo crederent, magnam potestatem acceperunt spirituum immundorum, ut ejicerent eos, et curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem, mittente eos domino, atque mandante, euntes prædicare, dicentes, quia adpropinquavit regnum cœlorum. Infirmos curate, mortuos suscite, leprosos mundate, dæmones ejicite, gratis accepistis, gratis date. Si vero apostoli nec in ipso ignorantia suæ tempore fuerunt hæretici, qua ratione quisquam eos qui tales de hac vita transierunt, affirmare possint hæreticos ?
Lib. 12. p. 184.

* Ibid. p. 183:

† Ἀρθεῖς δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἐξεπέτεσε τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἀνεκαίνισε τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ Ἀρτεμονίου, τοῦ ποτε οὗτος ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ ἑλὼν πολλῶν καὶ ἐσθροισμένων. Hær. 65. Opera, vol. 1. p. 6c8.

ed *Artemonites*. On the other hand, we are not to give to particular persons who distinguished themselves in the defence of the unitarian doctrine, all the *converts* they are said to have made. They, no doubt, *found* them unitarians, though they might be more encouraged by those leaders to declare themselves more openly. But we shall find, that when all their great leaders were gone, they did not want boldness in asserting their principles, which is a proof that they did not want numbers.

The number of followers that historians give to Marcellus of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, and also to his disciple Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, in Pannonia, is prodigious; and the effects of their labours are said to have remained a long time. The former, though living in troublesome times, and probably being induced to make some improper compliances, is, notwithstanding, noted for the courage with which he, for some time at least, maintained his opinions. That he was not easily overborne by authority, Eusebius, his antagonist, testifies, when he says, that “ he made no ac-

“count of the Fathers of the church*.” Alluding to the preaching and writings of Marcellus, Hilary says, “Galatia has brought up many to the profession of “one God; and,” alluding to Photinus, “Pannonia wickedly maintains that Jesus “Christ was born of Mary,” i. e. that he did not exist before his birth†. This writer complains heavily of the distressed situation of the truth among so many heresies, and more than intimates, that the followers of Photinus, though often condemned, were not sufficiently separated from the church. The mischief, he says, was *within* ‡.

* Οὐκ τε παλιν τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πατρὸς ἀδελφεῖ. Contra Marcellum, lib. 1. p. 19.

† Impie multos ad unius dei professionem Galatia nutrit—Pestifere natum Jesum Christum ex Maria Pannonia defendit. Lib. 7. p. 131.

‡ Nihil solitudini meæ, nihil conscientiæ vacat. Sub specula enim omnium hæreticorum ad occasiones singulorum verborum in os meum pendentium loquor, et omnis, sermonis mei iter aut angustiis præruptum, aut foveis incisum, aut laqueis prætensum est. Jam quod arduum aut difficile sit minus conqueror; non meis enim, sed apostolicis scando gradibus. Mihi vero aut in angustias decidere, aut in defossâ incidere, aut plagis illaqueari, semper in periculo,

Photinus, though violently opposed by the Arian emperor Constantius (*Hilarius Contra Constantium*, p. 332) was remarkably popular in his see, and elsewhere; for an account of which see *Sozomen*, lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 135; and “though excommunicated and condemned, he could not be removed,” says Hilary, “on account of the affection that the people had for him*,” as his language ought to be interpreted. And it is particularly remarkable, that though Photinus was so obnoxious to the

riculo, semper in metu est. Prædicaturo enim, secundum legem, et prophetas, et apostolos, unum deum, adest mihi Sabellius, totum me sub verbi hujus professione, tanquam desideratum cibum, morsu sævissimo transvorans. Negantem me rursus, contra Sabellium, unum deum, et confitentem verum deum dei filium, expectat nova hæresis, et a me duos deos arguat prædicari. Natum quoque dei filium ex Maria, dicturo, Hebion, qui et Photinus assistit; auctoritatem mendacii sui, ex professione veritatis, sumpturus. De cæteris taceo, qui ab omnibus extra ecclesiam esse non ignorantur. Hoc vero damnatum, et abjectum licet frequentur, sed internum hodie adhuc malum est. Lib. 7. p. 131.

* Fotinus hæreticus comprehensus, olim reus pronunciat, et a communione jampridem unitatis abscissus, nec tum quidem per factionem populi potuit admoveri. *Fragmenta*, p. 444.

orthodox, on account of his principles, his moral character was never impeached. A high encomium on him may be seen in Philaster *. And when he was expelled from his see by the arm of power, he enjoyed an honourable retirement, and employed himself in writing books, in which, besides promoting the cause of christianity in general, he boldly maintained his peculiar opinions. “ Photinus,” says Jerom, “ endeavoured to revive the heresy of the “ Ebionites, and wrote many volumes, the “ chief of which are against the heathens, “ and the books to Valentinian †.” Socrates says, that “ he wrote against all here-

* Nam erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrinæ opibus excellens, et eloquio præpotens : quippe qui utroque sermone copiose, et graviter disputaret et scriberet : ut monumentis librorum suorum manifestatur, quos idem partim Græco, partim Latino sermone composuit, Cap. 16. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 71.

† Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis hæresim instaurare conatus est : postea, a Valentiniano principe pulsus ecclesia, plura scripsit volumina, in quibus vel præcipui sunt, contra gentes, et ad Valentinianum libri. Catalogus, Opera, vol. 1. p. 316.

“ fies,

“fies, proposing only his own opinion*.”
 “Though banished,” says Sozomen, “he
 “continued to defend his opinion, and
 “wrote books in the Greek and Latin
 “tongues, in which he endeavoured to
 “shew that all opinions were false except
 “his own†.” That he continued stren-
 uously to maintain his opinions, notwith-
 standing his persecution and banishment, is
 evident from all the accounts we have had
 of him. Nicephorus says, that “what
 “Photinus laboured in all his writings
 “was, that all opinions besides his own
 “were nothing‡.”

Of all the theological works of the an-
 cients, I own that I regret most of all the
 loss of those of Photinus, and especially his
treatise against heresies. An impartial ac-

* Εγραφε δε καὶ πασῶν αἰρέσεων, τὸ οἰκεῖον μόνον δόγμα παρα-
 τίθεμενος. Lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 129.

† Φωτίνος δὲ φευγεῖν καὶ ἀδικασθεῖς, ὅδε ὡς ἐπαυσάτο τὸ οἰκεῖον
 συγκροτῶν δόγμα· λόγος τε τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ συγγραφῶν
 ἐξεδίδε, δι’ ὧν ἐπειράτο, πλὴν τῆς αὐτῆς, τὰς τῶν ἀλλῶν δοξὰς ψευδεῖς
 ἀποφαινείν. Lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 137.

‡ Ο δ’ ἐσπαδάξεν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡν, πλὴν τῆς οἰκείας, τὰς τῶν
 ἀλλῶν δοξὰς μηδὲν ὕσας ἀπρεπῶς ἐξελεγχεῖν. Lib. 9. cap. 31.
 p. 755.

account of his conference with Basil of Ancyra, would be exceedingly valuable. A few things that are quoted from him I shall produce in my account of the arguments used by the ancient unitarians in defence of their principles. That his writings were not thought meanly of by his adversaries, appears by their frequent notice of them, and the answers that were written to them long after his death. Among others, Vigilius Martyr, about the year 500, wrote against Photinus, as well as Sabellius and Arius*.

Both Photinus and Marcellus were obnoxious to the Arians, but Marcellus more particularly, perhaps, for not having approved of the conduct of the Arians with respect to Athanasius, who always shewed a kindness for him†.

There are several traces of there being great numbers of unitarians in the time of Austin.

* Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 546.

† Athanasii, Opera, vol. 1. p. 813. Nicephori, Hist. lib. 8. cap. 53. vol. 1. p. 663.

There

There appears to have been Photinians who even held open assemblies at Sir-
mium, contrary to a law of the emperor
Gratian, A. D. 381; when the bishop
the council of Aquileia petitioned the em-
perors to take farther measures with respect
to them*.” The words *invisible* and *im-
passible*, Ruffinus says, were added to the
creed in the church of Aquileia, on account
of the Sabellian, or patripassian heresy,
though they were not in the creed at
Rome†. Jerom speaks of Ancyra, the ca-
pital of Galatia, as forely over-run with
various heresies in his time‡; and yet,

* Photinianos quoque quos et superiori lege censuistis,
nullos facere debere conventus, profit jam et sacerdotum
concilio sententia in eos lata est. Petimus insuper, ut
quoniam in Syrmienſi oppido adhuc conventus tentare eos
cognovimus, clementia vestra, interdicta hac ejus coitione,
reverentiam primum ecclesiæ catholicæ, deinde etiam legi-
bus vestris deferre jubeat. Ambrosii, Opera, vol. 5. p. 167.

† His additur invisibilem et impassibilem. Sciendum
quod duo isti sermones in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non
habentur, constat autem apud nos additos, hæreseos causa
Sabellii illius profecto, quæ nostris patripassiana appellatur.
In Symbol, p. 173.

‡ Scit mecum qui vidit Ancyram metropolim Galatiæ,
civitatem, quod nunc usque scismatibus dilacerata sit.
quod

Ambrose, his cotemporary, speaks of the heresies of Photinus, Arius, and Sabellius, as being extinct, but says that, that of the Manicheans prevailed*. But as it is well known that the heresy of Arius was far from being extinct at that time, so it is no less evident that that of Photinus had many adherents.

Sabellianism was one of the *five heresies*, as he calls them, against which Austin thought it more particularly necessary to write. The other four were those of the Pagans, the Jews, the Manicheans, and the Arians†. It is also to the unitarians that he refers in the following passage, “ Let
 “ us not,” says he, “ hear those who say
 “ there is only the Father, and that he has
 “ no son, nor that there is a Holy Spirit,
 “ but that the Father himself is sometimes
 “ called the Son, and sometimes the Holy
 quod dogmatum varietatibus confusurata. In Gal. cap. 2, Opera, vol. 6. p. 134.

* Postea quam Photinus obmutuit, Arius conticuit, Sabellius vocem perdidit, adhuc tamen hæreses diversa contra ecclesiam exerentes ora conspicio. Apologia, David cap. 4. p. 508.

† De Quinque Hæresibus, Opera, vol. 6. p. 35.

“ Spirit.”

“ Spirit *.” Lardner says, that the frequent notice which Austin takes of the Sabellians, in his tracts and sermons to the people, is an argument that in his time there was some considerable number of persons who maintained his opinion†. Paulinus of the same age, speaks of heretics in his time, who said, that “ Christ was “ God by adoption,” from which he infers, that “ they must think him to be a “ mere man ‡.”

If we look towards the east, where Basil and the two Gregories were then flourishing, we shall find still louder complaints of the prevalence of heresy, and especially that of the unitarians. For it is to be observed that, as it was some time before the

* Nec eos audiamus qui dicunt patrem tantummodo esse, nec habere filium, nec esse cum eo spiritum sanctum: sed ipsum patrem aliquando appellari filium, aliquando spiritum sanctum. De Agen. Christ. cap. 13. Opera, vol. 3. p. 268.

† Credibility, vol. 4. p. 606.

‡ Aut certe purum eum hominem sine deo natum (quod cogitare impium est) necesse est fateantur, ac per hoc quasi eguerit adoptione a patre in filium sit adoptatus. Adv. Felicem, Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 435.

gospel

gospel was propagated with success in the western parts of the Roman empire, not till the doctrine of the divinity of Christ had made considerable progress, the christianity of those parts was always what was called more *orthodox* than that of the east, where the gospel was first preached, and consequently, where the prejudices of christians in favour of the old unitarian doctrine were stronger than in other places.

Cyril of Jerusalem complains of heretics, both Arians and unitarians, as in the bosom of the church. “Now,” says he, “there
“is an apostacy; for men have departed
“from the right faith, some confounding
“the Son with the Father,” meaning the unitarians, “others daring to say that Christ
“was created out of nothing,” meaning the Arians. “Formerly heretics were
“open, but now the church is full of concealed heretics*.”

* Νυν δὲ ἐστὶν ἀποστασία : ἀπεστησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, καὶ οἱ μὲν υἱοπαλοῖαν καὶ ἀγγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ οὐκ οὐκ εἶναι παρὰ γενεχθέντα λέγειν τολμῶσιν, καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν θανεῖσι αἰρετικοί, νυν δὲ πεπληρωταὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκρυμμένων αἰρετικῶν. Cyrilli, Catech. 15. p. 209. See also p. 5.

Complaints

Complaints of the spread of heresy, both that of the unitarians, and that of the Arians, by Basil himself, and his cotemporaries, are particularly loud and incessant. The opinions he most complains of were such as were held by the common people, though many of the clergy were also infected; and what is remarkable, the malecontents complained loudly of Basil's *innovations*, both with respect to doctrines, and practices. For some time Basil, though surnamed the *Great*, was obliged to give way to the storm, and to retire from his diocese; and yet, this it seems was a dangerous step. For according to him, the most unremitted assiduity was necessary to guard their flocks from seduction. “If
 “any person,” says he, “leave his diocese
 “for the shortest time, he leaves the com-
 “mon people exposed*.”

To give my readers a clear idea of Basil's situation, I shall select from his writings a few passages, which will give us a suffi-

† Εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ πρὸς τὸ βραχυτάτον τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτὴ ἀποσταῖν ἐκδόξως ἀφήσῃ τὰς λαὸς τοὺς ἐφεδρευομένους. Basilii-Epist. lxx. Opera, vol. 3. p. 114.

cient insight into it; and the case appears to have been the same through the whole of Asia Minor, but more especially in Galatia, which had been the diocese of Marcellus. "Groan with us," says Basil, "the only begotten is blasphemed, and there is no one to contradict it*." Gregory Nazianzen represents him as absolutely banished for holding opinions different from those of his people†.

The difficulties of Basil were occasioned both by the Arians, and the unitarians, but chiefly the latter; though they both agreed in decrying the novel doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, which was the great topic of controversy, as has been already seen, at that particular time. All the following passages shew that his strongest apprehensions were from the unitarians, the disciples of Sabellius, Marcellus, and Paulus Samosatensis. "We are torn in pieces," he says, "on one side by the

* Σίμεναξάτε εφ' ἡμῖν ὅτι ὁ μονογενης βλασφημεῖται, καὶ ὁ ἀνίλεγων ἄκ' ἐστίν. Epist. 70. Opera, vol. 3. p. 114.

† Ὅς γε καὶ ἐξορίαν ὑπερ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀκριθεὶς. Or. 20. p. 364.

" Anomeans,

“ Anomeans, and on the other by Sabel-
 “ lius *.” “ Is not the mystery of godli-
 “ ness every where laughed at ; the bishops
 “ continuing without people, and without
 “ clergy, having nothing but an empty
 “ name, able to do nothing for the ad-
 “ vancement of the gospel of peace and
 “ salvation. Are there not discords con-
 “ cerning God, and blasphemy, from the
 “ old impiety of vain Sabellius †.” “ You
 “ know, says he, “ my dear brethren, that
 “ the doctrine of Marcellus, overturns all
 “ our hopes, not acknowledging the Son
 “ in his proper personality ‡.”

Basil’s enemies alledged the authority of
 his predecessor, the famous Gregory Thau-
 maturgus, as he is now generally called, as if

* Ενίενθεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀνωμοῖος σπαράσσει, ἐξερῶθεν δὲ ὡς εἰκοιεν
 • Σαβελλίος. Epist. 64. Opera, vol. 3. p. 100.

† Οὐχι γελαῖαι τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὡς ἀνευ λαοῦ καὶ
 κληρῶ ἐπισκοπῶν περιερχομένων, καὶ ὀνόμα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, ἔδεν
 δὲ καλοῦσθαι εἰς προκοπὴν τῆς εὐαγγελίας τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας ; ἐχί-
 οι περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγοι παρ’ αὐτῶ πληρεῖς εἰσιν ἀσεβῶν δογμάτων, τῆς
 παλαιᾶς ἀσεβείας τῶν μαλακοφρονῶν Σαβελλίου. δι’ αὐτῶ νῦν ἀνανεώσεως
 ἐν τοῖς σὺνταγμασιν. Epist. 293. *ibid.* p. 284.

‡ Οἰδαίτε, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι, ὅτι πάσης ἡμῶν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀδείησεν
 ἔχει τὸ Μαρκέλλου δόγμα. εἴτε νῦν ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποτάσσει ὁμολογεῖν.
 Epist. 74. *ibid.* p. 126.

he had held that “ the Father and Son were
 “ two in conception, but one in hypostasis.”
 This he does not absolutely deny, but says,
 “ that it was advanced by him not seriously,
 “ but only in disputation *.”

Writing to the clergy of the church of Neocæsarea, he says, that Sabellius the Lybian, and Marcellus of Galatia, were the real authors of the doctrines taught by his opposers. He complains heavily of the violence with which they opposed him, and that they had the assurance to call his doctrines mischievous ones †.

* Ως αρα Γρηγοριε ειπονός εν εκθεσει πιστεως, πατέρα και υιόν επινοια μεν ειναι δυο, υποστασει δε εν . τειλο δε, οτι & δογματικως ειρησαι, αλλ’ αγωνιστικως εν τη προς Αιλιανον διαλεξει. Epist. 64. Opera, vol. 3. p. 101.

† Σαβελλιος α Διδυς, και Μαρκελλος ο Γαλατης μονοι εκ παντων εισηγησαν, και διδασκει ταυτα και γραφαι, απερ νυν παρ ημιν, ως ιδια εαυτων ευρηματια επιχειρουν προσφερειν οι καθηγουμενοι τε λαοι, βομβουαινες τη γλωσση, και εδε εις πιδανην καλασκευην εξαγαγειν τα σοφισματια ταυτα, και τες παραλογισμους εξαρκαντες . ελοι ρηλα και αρηηλα καθ’ ημων δημηγορουν, και παντα τροπον τας συνιυχιας ημων εκκλινουσι . τινος ενεκεν ; εχι τον επι τοις ποιητοις εαυτων διδασκασιον ελεγχον υπορωμενοι ; οι γε επι τοσδεον ημων καληναισχυνηθησαν, ωσε και ονειρους τινας εφ ημας συμπλασαι, διαβολικον ημων τας διδασκαλιας, ως βλαβερας. Epist. 63. Opera, vol. 3. p. 95.

It is acknowledged that, in général, the unitarians were of the lower sort of people; yet, in Basil's diocese many of them were those of better condition. He complains of the leading men in his own church being addicted to the opinions of Sabellius and Marcellus, and of their being dissatisfied with his psalms, his new mode of singing, and his institution of monks*. He particularly mentions an excellent person, of the name of Terentius, as having joined the Paulians, in a passage in which he makes great complaint of the progress of that sect, of their boldness, the publication of their confessions of faith, and threatening to join his church†. This would not have been thought of, if their number had not been very considerable. Basil himself was charged with having been a favourer of the unitarian doctrine, and even with having writ-

* Epist. 63. Ibid. p. 95.

† Και μεγαφρονειν τες τασιατας τε μερες εκεινς, κ' επαγαλλεσθαι, τοις γραμμασιν, ειλα κ' πωσιν προλινεσθαι, κ' επι ταυτη εισιμωσ εχειν συναπτεσθαι τη καθ ημας εκκλησια, προς δε τ'ιςοις κακεινο ημιν απηγγελη, ολι υπηγαγοντο προς την υπερ αυτων σπαδην, τον παντα αριστον ανδρα Τερεντιον. Epist. 272. Ibid. p. 268.

ten in defence of it ; but this he absolutely denies, appealing to God for the truth of his declaration *.

In this age it was the custom to apply to the church of Rome, in any difficulties from the distant churches of the empire ; a circumstance which greatly contributed to advance the power and insolence of that church. And it was chiefly by means of the overbearing influence of this church, that those doctrines, which are generally termed *orthodox*, got established. Basil requested that persons might be sent from Rome to condemn the heresy of Marcellus, saying, that “ to this day, in all the letters “ they send, the heresy of Arius is anathe- “ matized, where no fault was found with “ Marcellus, who brought in a contrary he- “ resy, affecting the very being of the deity “ of the only begotten Son, and giving a “ wrong sense to the word *logos* †.”

* Οὐτε εγραψαμεν εκεινα, ητε συνιδεμεθα αυτοις, αλλα, κ̅ αναδεμα-
τιζομεν τας εχοντας εκεινο το πονερον φρονημα, το της συγχυσεως των
υποστασεων, εν ω η ατεβεσταλη αιρεσις τε Σαβελλιου ανενεωδη. τ̅λο μεν
εν γνωριμον τω θεω, τω τας καρδιας γινωσκοντι, Epist. 345. Ibid.
P. 339.

† Επει̅ μεχρι̅ τε νυν̅ εν̅ πασιν̅ ο̅ις̅ επι̅τελλ̅εσι̅ γραμμασι̅, τον̅ μεν
δυσωνυμον̅ Αρειον̅ ανω̅ κ̅ κατω̅ αναδεματιζοντες̅ κ̅ των̅ εκκλησιων̅ εξορι-
ζοντες̅

Gregory Nazianzen, who was cotemporary with Basil, complains of the small number of the orthodox, saying, “they
“were the smallest of the tribes of Israel*.”

And yet Optatus, who was cotemporary with him in Africa, speaks of all heretics as extinct, and the Sabellians among the rest, their very names being unknown in Africa†. But if this had been the case, we should never have heard of the complaints

ζόντες & διαλειπῆσι. Μαρκελλῶ δὲ, τῷ κατὰ διαμείρον ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀσεβείαν ἐπιδειξαμένῳ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπαρξίν τῆς τε μονογενεὸς θεοῦ ἡλίου ἀσεβήσαντι, καὶ κακῶς τὴν τε λόγῳ προσηγορίαν ἐκδεξαμένῳ, ἐδεμίαν μεμψιν ἐπενεγκόντες φαίνονται. Epist. 52. Ibid. p. 80.

* Καὶ ἡ παρρησία ταῖς ἀριθμυμέναις τῶν πόλεων, ἐδὲ τῶν ποιμνίων τοῖς παλιταῖς ἔχειν τι πλεονήμων, τῶν ὀλίγων τῆς ἐλαχίστης φυλῆς ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, τῶν ὀλιγοτῶν ἐν χιμασίν Ἰσραὴλ, τῆς μικρᾶς Βηθλεὲμ ἐν πόλεσιν ἐν ἡ χριστὸς γενναῖται, νυν τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καλῶς καὶ γινώσκόμενος καὶ σεβόμενος, παρ' οἷς πατήρ ὑψαῖται, καὶ υἱὸς ἰσαξίεται, καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγίον σινδοξάζεται. Or. 2. p. 48.

† Hæreticos cum erroribus suis mortuos, et oblivione jam sepultos, quodammodo resuscitare voluisti, quorum per provincias Africanas non solum vitia, sed etiam nomina videbantur ignota. Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus, et cæteri temporibus suis a Victorino Pictaviensi, et Zepherino Urbico, et Tertulliano Carthaginensi, usque ad Cataphrygas; et ab aliis adsertoribus ecclesiæ Catholicæ superati sunt. Lib. 1. p. 9.

of Austin, who resided in Africa at the same time.

We have likewise boasts of the extinction of heresy in Chrysostom. But, by his own evidence, they may be proved to be premature. He speaks of all heretics by name as extinct; and among the rest the Arians are mentioned, which is known to have been by no means the case*. It may even, with some probability, be inferred from this writer himself, that notwithstanding the prohibitions of government, the unitarians of that age had the zeal and courage to hold public assemblies. For, speaking of the unitarians, he says, “Let us avoid their assemblies, and learning the eternal existence of the Son, his power as the maker of the world, &c. let us hold the truth†,” &c.

It appears from the writings of Chrysostom, that, in his time, many persons were much attached to the religion and customs of the Jews; and it is very probable, that

* De Pseudoprophetis, Opera, vol. 6. p. 479.

† Φευγόμεν τοινεν αὐτῶν τῆς συλλογῆς, καὶ μαθόντες τὴν μονογενῆς ἰσχυρίαν, τὴν δημιουργικὴν δύναμιν. — Διαλέθωμεν τῶν δογματῶν τὴν ἀκρίθειαν. In Pl. 8. Opera, vol. 3. p. 122.

the doctrine of the unity of God, of which the Jews were strenuous assertors, might be a principal inducement to it, especially as some who were fond of the Jews are represented as continuing in the church. “ Let “ the Jews,” says he, “ learn this, and “ those who rank with us, and yet think as “ they do*.”

No person speaks with more triumph of the extinction of heresy, especially that of the unitarians, than Theodoret; and yet his account is flatly contradicted by Facundus, in the passage above quoted from him. And as Facundus wrote after Theodoret, it may be taken for granted, that the unitarians were more numerous in the time of Theodoret than they were in his.

Theodoret represents the cities in his neighbourhood as full of heretics when he came into the diocese; mentioning the Arians, Eunomians, Manichæans, Marcionites, Valentinians, and Montanists, and even heathens and Jews; when himself, who

* Μαθητῶσαν καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οἱ μετὰ ἡμῶν μὲν τελευτῶσαι δοκῶντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων φρονεῖντες. Hom. 38. Opera, vol. 1. p. 525.

maintained the evangelical truth was excluded from all cities *. Though he does not mention unitarians, it will appear probable, from what has been seen above, that they were intended by the term Montanists. He boasts, however, of his having purged his diocese of all those heresies, especially that of the Marcionites †. In another place, he particularly speaks of the unitarians as extinct, and as an event produced by that power which rebuked the deep, Is. iv. 27. and “dried it up, who says “to the deep, Thou shalt be desolate, and “I will dry up the rivers ‡.” He likewise speaks of the doctrine of the trinity as held not only by the teachers in the church, but also by the lowest artificers, several of whom he

* Μαλλον δε τοις μεν αλλοις απασι πασα πολις ανεωκται, ε μονον τοις τα Αρεϊς και Ευνομιε φρονεσιν, αλλα και Μανιχαιοις, και Μαρκιωνισταις, και τοις τα Βαλεντινις, και Μουσανθ νοσεσι, και μεντοι και Ελλησι και Ιουδαιοις· εγω δε των ευαγγελικων υπαραγωνιζομενος δογματων πασης ειργομαι πολεως. Epist. 81. Opera, vol. 3. p. 953.

† Ibid. p. 954.

‡ Τριτας απασας τας αιρεσεις επι αναιρεσεως τε μονογενεος θεοτητος επινενοημεν ο των ανθρωπων αλαστωρ· αλλ' εσβεσεν απασας ο επιημων αευσσω, και ξηραινων αυτην, ο λεγων τη αευσσω ερημωδηση, και της πολιαμης σε ξηραινω. Hær. Fab. lib. 2. cap. 11. Opera, vol. 4. p. 224.

enumerates, by women, even of the lowest ranks, and by the inhabitants of villages, as well as those of cities *.

How far this is to be considered as a faithful state of facts, or the flourish of an orator, I leave the reader to determine, by comparing it with the accounts of Fa-cundus and others. Cyril of Alexandria, who was cotemporary with Theodoret, holds a different language. “Some,” says he, “are so far seduced, that they cannot “bear any longer to confess that Christ is “God; but that he is rather the organ and “instrument of the deity, and inspired by “God †.” In this it is possible, that he alluded to the Sabellian, or Patripassian doctrine, which I shall shew was the language

* Και εστιν ιδειν ταυτα ειδδας τα δογματα, & μονες γε της εκκλησιας τες διδασκαλος, αλλα και συνδρομος, και χαλκοιυπες, και ταλασιργες και τες αλλες αποχειροβιως * και γυναικας ωσαιως, & μονον τας λογων μελεσχηκυιας, αλλα και χερνηιδας, και ακετριδας, και μεττοι και δεραπαινας: και & μονον ασοι, αλλα και χωρηλικι την δε την γνωσι εσχηκασι. Sermon. 5. Opera, vol. 4. p. 556.

† Prope namque usque adeo quidamseduçi sunt, ut non sustineant amplius confiteri, quod Deus sit Christus, sed quod sit magis organum et instrumentum divinitatis, et homo numine afflatus. Epist. Opera, vol. 2. p. 14.

of the philosophical unitarians. But it may be inferred, from several passages in the writings of Cyril, that there were unitarians in his time. I shall give one of them in the notes *.

Cyril even speaks of writers in defence of the unitarian doctrine in his time, and such as he thought it worth his while to animadvert upon. “ But because a heretic,” he says, “ famous for his skill in the Jewish scriptures, in his exposition of this passage” (*the Father is greater than I*) “ has written intolerable blasphemies against the only begotten, I thought it my duty to shew the falsehood of his discourse †.”

* Obliterant enim quidam, veritatis pulchritudinem, et sicut numisma, adulterant, extollentes in excelsum cornu et injustitiam contra deum loquentes, sicut scriptum est. Imaginantur unigenitum non habere existentiam, et proprie non subsistere, et per se quidem non esse in subsistentia, Verbum autem simpliciter, et sermonem juxta solam pronunciationem a deo factum quemadmodum et in homine inhabitasse dicunt miseri : et componentes sic Jesum, sanctis quidem sanctiorem esse dicunt, attamen non deum. De Recta Fide, vol. 2. p. 686.

† Verum quoniam quidam hæreticorum etiam apud Judæos sacrarum peritia literarum illustris hunc locum exponens intolerabiles in unigenitum scripsit blasphemias,
mei

“ He has the arrogance,” he says, “ to assert, that the Father is in no sense greater than the deity of the Son, but only supposes that the nature of the Father exceeds his humanity *.” In this manner he must have meant to describe the Sabellians.

From these circumstances, let the reader judge, whether the unitarian heresy was extinct in the *time* of Theodoret, whatever it might be in his *neighbourhood*. His great zeal, and his power in his diocese, would probably prevent the unitarians from declaring themselves, and their acquiescence might be called their conversion.

The Pelagians, as I have shewn, very generally adopted the unitarian doctrine. But, besides these, Cassian speaks of other unitarians in Gaul, whom he does not class with Pelagians. “ There have lately risen,” he says, “ I mean in our days, a

mei officii putavi falsitatem orationis ejus arguere. In John, lib. 10. cap. 9. Opera, vol. 1. p. 938.

* Ad hoc arrogantiae quidam processerunt, inquit, ut nullo modo audire patiantur patrem, filii deitate majorem esse, sed sola humanitate naturam patris excedere arbitrentur. Cyril. Alex. vol. 1. p. 939.

“ poisonous

“poisonous heresy, chiefly in the city of
 “Beligæ, of a certain name, but an un-
 “certain author, which, with a fresh head,
 “rises from the old error of the Ebionites.
 “It is doubtful whether it can be called
 “old, or new. It is new in the assertors,
 “but old in the error, viz. that our Lord
 “Jesus Christ is a mere man*.”

According to Maxentius, who flourished
 in the year 520, the unitarians were by
 no means extinct in his neighbourhood.
 Speaking of the church as rejecting the
 doctrine of those who say that “Christ is
 “God by favour, and not by nature,” he
 says, “against this all heretics, as well those
 “who are manifestly cut off and divided,
 “as those who are within the church, and
 “spiritually divided from it, whom the

* Nuper quoque, id est, in diebus nostris emerisse
 hæresim venenosam, et maxime Beligarum urbe conspexi-
 mus, certi erroris, incerti nominis: quia cum recenti ca-
 pite ex antiqua Ebionitarum stirpe surrexerit, dubium ad-
 modum est antiqua magis dici, an recens debeat. Nova
 enim assertoribus, sed vetusta erroribus fuit. Solitarium
 quippe hominem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum na-
 tum esse blasphemans. De Incarnatione, lib. 1. cap. 2.
 p. 962.

“ holy

“ holy charity of the church bravely tole-
 “ rates, always take up arms, and cease not
 “ to urge it with false charges, and en-
 “ deavour to excite all they can influence
 “ against it. As yet,” he adds, “ we are
 “ in the threshing floor, corn mixed with
 “ chaff, good men grieve at the society of
 “ the wicked*.” This passage is very simi-
 lar to that of Facundus, and makes it ex-
 tremely probable, that, in all christian coun-
 tries, there were great numbers of unita-
 rians, sufficiently known to be so, in com-
 munion with the catholic church, without
 being molested.

* Vera dei ecclesia, cui non sunt hæreticorum ignotæ
 procellæ, non est illa quæ christum gratia non natura deum
 confitetur.—Adversus illam omnes hæretici, tam qui ab
 ea manifeste abscissi atque divisi sunt, quam hi qui intra
 eam positi, spiritaliter ab ea dissentiunt (quos fortiter sancta
 fidelium tolerat charitas) semper arma corripiunt, eamque
 falsis criminationibus infestari non desinunt, atque eos quos
 suis potuerunt erroribus in ejus nituntur invidiam concitare,
 —Adhuc, inquit in area sumus, mixta sunt frumenta
 cum paleis, gemunt boni consortia malorum : sed superest
 flamma, non necessarii, et parata sunt horrea jam probati,
 in his remorari diutius superfluum æstimo. Bib. Pat. vol.
 5, P. 499.

SECTION II.

Of the State of the Unitarians after the sixth Century.

WE must not expect to find any distinct account of the unitarians, or the condition they were in, in what are called *the dark ages*. There can be no doubt, however, but that they continued to be in the same state in which they had been in the preceding period, i. e. not very conspicuous, or forming many separate societies, at least, such as the historians of the time had any knowledge of; but mixed with other christians, though without making any secret of their opinions. Of this, though there are no distinct accounts, there are sufficient traces. I have noted only a few, as they happened to fall under my observation, when I was reading for other purposes.

Pope Gregory the Great, who flourished about the close of the sixth century, speaks of heretics who said “ they did not envy
“ Christ

“ Christ being God, because they could
 “ be so if they would, considering Christ as
 “ a mere man, and made a God by fa-
 “ vour*.” These must have been unita-
 rians, for it is a language that was never
 held by Arians.

In Bulgaria Sandius says, that the Pho-
 tinians remained till the time of Pope
 Nicholas, about the year 860. Hist. p.
 117. Agobard speaks of Avitus having
 written against them, but at what time does
 not appear†.

For some time the unitarians were called
 Bonosians, from Bonosus, bishop of Ser-
 dica, in the latter end of the fourth, and
 the beginning of the fifth century. Men-
 tion is made of him as an unitarian, along

* Non invideo Christo deo facto, quoniam si volo, et
 ipse possum fieri. Qui Jesum Christum dominum nos-
 trum, non per mysterium conceptionis, sed per profectum
 gratiæ deum putavit, perversa allegatione astruens eum
 purum hominum natum : sed ut deus esset, per meritum
 profecisse, atque ab hoc æstimans et se quoslibet alios posse
 ei coequari, qui filii dei per gratiam fiunt. In Job. cap.
 35. p. 110. C

† Beatus quoque Avitus, Photinianorum hæreticorum
 validissimus expugnator. Adv. Fælicem, sect. 41. p. 55-
 with

with Photinus, by Marius Mercator*, and also by Justinian, who ranks him with Paulus Samosatensis, Photius (probably Photinus) and Nestorius†. Mention is also made of the Bonosians in a council held at Orleans, A. D. 540 ‡.

Sandius says, that the Bonosians were the same with the *Felicians*, so called from Felix, of Urgella in Spain, who, in conjunction with Elipandus, of Toledo, taught heretical doctrines with respect to the trinity, A. D. 780 (Hist. p. 360) and that this Elipandus held the same opinions with Sabellius, he says, appears from a copy of his confession to Beatus and Heterius. He adds, that the four preceding bishops of Toledo, who compiled the Toledan Gothic

* Hunc itaque Hebionum philosophum secutus Marcellus Galata est, Photinus quoque, et ultimis temporibus Serdicensis Bonosus, qui a Damaso urbis Romæ episcopo prædamnatus est. Opera, p. 165.

† Επειδή Παυλον τον Σαμοσαίτα, και Φωτιον, και Βονοσεν, και Νεστοριον αναθεματίζει. Epist. p. 122.

‡ Judex civitatis vel loci, si hæreticum aut Bonosiacum, vel cujuscunque alterius hæresis sacerdotem, quamcunque personam de catholicis rebaptizasse cognoverit. Binii Concilia, vol. 2. pt. 2. p. 29.

liturgy,

liturgy, were of the same opinion with him. Ibid. p. 120.

Elipandus, however, may have been a Nestorian, by his asserting that Jesus Christ was the adopted Son of God, as we learn from the transactions of the council of Frankfort in 794 *.

The Goths and Vandals, and all the other northern nations, which invaded the Roman empire, are generally said to have been Arians. But it is very possible that this may have been said without making proper distinctions, and that many of them were unitarians. Chilperic, king of the Franks, was probably one, at least so was Leovigild of Spain, who sent ambassadors to Chilperic in 585, as may be inferred

* Adferunt igitur, sed falsis adsertionibus irretiti, dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, adoptivum dei filium de virgine natum; quod divinis nequeunt adprobare documentis. Hæc igitur dicentes, aut in utero virginis eum suspicantur adoptatum: quod dici nefas est, quia de beata virgine inerarrabiliter sumpfit, non adoptavit, carnem; aut certe purum eum hominem sine deo natum, quod cogitare impium est, necesse est fateantur. Binni Concilia, vol. 3. pt. 2. p. 140.

from what Sandius says of him, and his ambassadors*.

Some Sabellians, as well as Arians, were condemned at a council held at Toledo, A. D. 400 †. Also unitarians, or Nestorians, seem to be alluded to in a council held in the same city, A. D. 684 ‡.

The Albigenſes, at leaſt many of them, appear pretty clearly not to have been orthodox with reſpect to the trinity; but whether they were more generally Arians, or unitarians, I have not been able to determine.

* Hiſt. p. 337, 338.

† Si quis dixerit atque crediderit, deum patrem eundem eſſe filium vel paracletum, anathema ſit. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit filium eundem eſſe patrem vel paracletum, anathema ſit. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit paracletum eſſe vel patrem vel filium, anathema ſit. Si quis crediderit vel dixerit, carnem tantum ſine anima a filio dei fuiſſe ſuſceptam anathema ſit. Binnii Concilia, vol. 1. p. 60.

‡ Si quis igitur Jeſu Chriſto dei filio, ex utero Mariæ virginis nato, aliquid aut divinitatis imminuit, aut de ſuſcepta humanitate ſubducit, excepta ſola lege peccati; et non eum verum deum, hominemque perfectum in una perſona ſubſiſtentem ſinceriffime credit, anathema ſit. Binnii Concilia, vol. 3. p. 297.

Of

Of these Albigenſes, Liſoius and Herebert are particularly mentioned, as men of excellent moral characters, who were accused of Manicheiſme. However, when they were interrogated at Orleans, in 1017, it appeared that they did not hold the doctrine of the trinity*.

In the ſame uncertainty are the opinions of Peter Abelard, and thoſe of his diſciple, as he is called, Arnold of Breſcia. But it is no uncommon thing for the ſame perſon

* Facta igitur perſcrutatione inter clericos, quomodo unusquiſque ſentiret, et crederet ea, quæ fides catholica per doctrinam apoſtolicam incommutabiliter ſervat et prædicat: illi duo, videlicet Liſoius, et Heribertus ſtatim ſe aliter ſentire non negantes, quales diu latuerant, manifeſtaverunt. Deinde vero plures poſt illos ſe parti iſtorum profitebantur hæſere, nec ulla ratione ſe poſſe affirmabant ab illorum ſegregare conſortio. Quibus compertis, tam rex, quam Pontifices triſtiores effecti interrogaverunt illos ſecreſtius, utpote viros hætenus in omni morum probitate perutiliſſimos, quorum unus Liſoius in monaſterio ſanctæ crucis clericorum clariſſimus habebatur: alter item Heribertus ſancti Petri eccleſiæ, cognomento Puellarius capitalæ ſcholæ tenebat dominium.—Dicebant enim deliramenta eſſe, quidquid in veteri ac novo canone certis ſignis ac prodigiis, veteribusque teſtatoribus de trinitate unaque deitate beata confirmat auctoritas. Binnii Concilia, vol. 3. pt. 2. p. 176.

to be called an Arian by one writer, and an unitarian by another. Thus Lewis Hetzer is called an Arian by Sandius, who was himself an Arian (Hist. p. 424) whereas Mosheim (Hist. vol. 4. p. 183) represents him as having been of the same opinion with Socinus.

Abelard, however, was most probably a Sabellian, as may be inferred from his comparison of the unity of the three persons in the trinity to the unity of the *proposition*, *assumption*, and *conclusion*, of an oration. At least it was so understood at a council held in 1136*. What is said of him on the occasion of another council, in 1140, may perhaps shew that, with respect to the trinity,

* Quare de S. trinitate docens et scribens, tres personas, quas sancta ecclesia non vacua nomina tantum, sed res distinctas, suisque proprietatibus discretis, hæcenus et pie credidit, et fideliter docuit, nimis attenuans, non bonis usus exemplis, inter cætera dixit : sicut eadem oratio est propositio assumptio, et conclusio, ita eadem essentia est pater, et filius, et spiritus sanctus. Ob hoc Sueffionis provinciali contra eum synodo sub præsentia Romanæ sedis legati congregata, ab egregiis viris, et nominatis magistris, Elberico Rhenense, et Leutaldo Novariense, Sabellianus hæreticus judicatus. Binnii Concilia, vol. 3. pt. 2. p. 492.

he

he was an Arian, with respect to the doctrine of grace a Pelagian, and with respect to the person of Christ, a Nestorian *.

It appears then, that, in all the periods of antiquity, there were considerable numbers of unitarians, either avowed or concealed; and especially among the Albigenes, who bore so noble a testimony against the errors of the church of Rome. Unitarians also appeared in great numbers about the time of the reformation by Luther. But he and Calvin, not going so far, but retaining more fundamental corruptions of christianity than any that they abolished, employed all their influence to bear down those who did not exactly agree with them, and stop where they did.

The truth has never, however, been without its witnesses, perhaps, even in no age or country; and providence seems now to be opening a way for the much wider spread, and the firmer establishment of the truth, especially in this country.

* Cum de trinitate loquitur, sapit Arrium: cum de gratia, sapit Pelagium: cum de persona Christi, sapit Nestorium. Binnii Concilia, vol. 3. pt. 2. p. 494.

That it is not improbable, but that, even in times of pretty great rigour, quiet people, who wrote nothing, and collected no disciples, would be permitted to continue in communion with the catholic church, notwithstanding their opinions were suspected, or known, to be heretical, may appear from the state of things at home, in the last, and the present age.

Is it not well known that there are both Arians and Socinians members of the church of England, and even among the clergy themselves, and yet, if they can reconcile it to their own minds to keep in communion with a trinitarian church, there are no attempts made to molest them. Zealous as the heads of the church may be for the purity of its tenets, they think proper to connive at these things, and so they did in an age more zealous than this. The excellent Mr. Firmin was not only an avowed Socinian, and in communion with the church of England, but in habits of intimacy with Tillotson, and some of the most distinguished churchmen of his time.

At

At present there are Arian and Socinian writers within the pale of the church, and yet they are not excommunicated. Such a thing as this might not have passed so easily in the time of Theodosius. But even then I make no doubt, but that persons who could content themselves without disturbing others, would not have been molested.

Persons who do not *bona fide* hold the acknowledged tenets of any church (I mean such great and distinguished ones as those relating to the object of worship) ought to withdraw themselves from it, and not, by continuing in communion with it, to countenance its errors. But how many are there who do not see the thing in this light, or whose habits and prejudices are such, that they cannot bring themselves to act as I think every principle of honour, as well as of religion, dictates; and yet I cannot call all such persons hypocrites, doing what they themselves know and feel to be wrong. They have excuses, which I doubt not, satisfy their own minds, though they do not satisfy me. Great allowance is also to be made for the force of habit,

and even for a natural timidity. There are many Erasmus's for one Luther, many Dr. Clarke's for one Whiston, a name, which notwithstanding the weakness of his judgment in some things, ought never to be mentioned without respect, on account of his almost singular and unparalleled uprightness.

As to the common people, the *idiotæ* of Tertullian, we generally see that, as they are not innovators in doctrine, they go to public worship where they have been used to do, without any nice discrimination of what is transacted there; and the observation will generally apply to the bulk of the inferior clergy. When Henry VIII. reformed the church of England, how many joined him in it, who would never have declared themselves dissenters from the established church?

These considerations, which are founded on such a knowledge of human nature as we may learn from all history, and our own daily observation, may render it credible, that the majority of the common people, might be unitarians, and yet continue in communion

nion with the church, after its forms became trinitarian, especially as they would not become so all at once. In the most ancient liturgies, there were no prayers addressed to Christ; and as the members of christian societies were not required to *subscribe* to any thing, there was nothing that they were expected to bear a part in, concerning which they might not be able to satisfy themselves.

The case is the same, in a greater or less degree, at all times, and in all churches. Quiet people will generally be indulged in their own way of thinking, and they are only those who disturb others that are themselves disturbed.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Philosophical Unitarianism.

BESIDES the *simple unitarianism* above described, or the doctrine of Christ being a mere man, inspired by God, which was the belief of the generality of christians of lower rank, there was likewise, in early times, what may be called a *philosophical unitarianism*, or an explanation of the doctrine concerning Christ on the principles of the philosophy of those times. And this deserves the more notice, as it probably gave occasion to what is commonly called the *patripassian* doctrine, if such a doctrine was ever really maintained.

As the sun was supposed to emit rays, and draw them into himself again, so the Divine Being, of whom they imagined the sun to be an image, they likewise supposed,
emitted

emitted a kind of *efflux*, or *divine ray*, to which they sometimes gave the name of *logos*, which might be attached to any particular substance, or person, and then be drawn into the Divine Being again. Such a divine efflux was imagined to have been the cause of the appearances of God in the Old Testament, and likewise to have been imparted to Jesus Christ; who, nevertheless, was a mere man. For before his baptism they supposed that he had not this divine ray, and that it would leave him when it had enabled him to act the part assigned to him.

This doctrine preceded that of the *permanent personification of the logos*. It is particularly described by Justin Martyr, and it is remarkable, that, though he does not adopt it, he passes no censure upon it, which is a proof that, in his opinion, it was not heretical.

“ There are,” he says, “ some I know,
“ who say that the divine power which
“ appeared to Moses, and Abraham, and
“ Jacob, was called *an angel*, from his de-
“ livering

“ livering the will of God to men, and a
“ *glory*, when he appeared in an ineffable
“ manner, and a *man*, when, at the will of
“ the Father, he appeared in that form ;
“ and *logos*, when he brought the will of
“ God to man ; but that this power is in-
“ separable from the Father, as a beam of
“ light is from the sun, since, when he
“ sets, he takes his beams with him. Thus
“ they say the Father, when he pleases,
“ makes this power to go out of him, and
“ when he pleases, takes it into him again.
“ In the same manner, they say, angels
“ exist. But that angels are permanent be-
“ ings, and do not return into that from
“ which they had their origin, I have
“ shewn. And that this power, which the
“ prophets call *God*, and *angel*, is not like
“ a beam of the sun, but numerically dif-
“ ferent from it, I have briefly shewn
“ above ; when I proved that this power
“ is produced by the Father’s power, and
“ at his will, but yet not a thing cut
“ off from him, so as to diminish his
“ essence, but like the lighting of one
“ fire

“ fire from another, which is not thereby
“ lessened.*”

Whitby says that Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of this doctrine with approbation.

* Ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ γινώσκω καὶ τινὰς προλεγεῖν ταῦτα βελομένους, καὶ φασκεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τὰ πᾶρος τῶν ὁλῶν φανείσαν τῷ Μωσθεῖ ἢ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἢ τῷ Ἰακώβ, ἀγγέλον καλεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπου προοδῷ, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ παρὰ τὰ πᾶρος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγγελλεῖται, δοῦξαν δὲ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ἀχωρήτῳ ποτε φανίσταται φανέσθαι, ἀνδρα δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀνθρώπον καλεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν μορφαῖς τοιαύταις σχηματίζομεν φανέσθαι αἰσπερ βεβῆται ὁ πᾶν, καὶ λόγον καλεῖσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τὰ πᾶρος ομιλίας φέρει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Αἰμήλιον δὲ καὶ ἀχωρίσθαι τὰ πᾶρος ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπαρχειν, ὡς περὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον φασὶ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι αἰμήλιον καὶ ἀχωρίσθαι ὅτι τὰ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ πρᾶν, καὶ ὅταν δύστη, συναποφερέται τὸ φῶς, εἰς τὸ πᾶν ὅταν βεβῆται, λέγουσι, δύναμιν αὐτῆς προσηύδα ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅταν βεβῆται πάλιν ἀναστρέφεται εἰς εαυτόν. Καὶ τὰς τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας ποιεῖν αὐτὸν διδάσκουσιν. Ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐν εἰσὶν ἀγγελοι, καὶ αἰετοειδῆς, καὶ μὴ ἀναλυόμενοι εἰς εἰκὸν ἐξ ὅπερ γεγονασιν, ἀποδεδεικνύται. Καὶ οἱ δὲ δύναμεις αὐτῆς ἣν καὶ θεὸς καλεῖ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, διὰ πολλῶν ὡσαύτως ἀποδεδεικνύται, καὶ ἀγγέλον, ὅτι, ὡς τὸ τὸ θεοῦ φῶς ὀνομαζόμενον ἀριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερον τι ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφητικαῖς διὰ βραχέων τὸν λόγον ἐξήλασα, εἰπων τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννησθαι ἀπὸ τὰ πᾶρος δύναμει καὶ βεβῆ αὐτῇ, ἀλλ’ ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τὰ πᾶρος ὅσας, ὅποια τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα μεριζόμενα καὶ τεμνομένα ἢ τὰ αὐτῇ ἐστὶν αἰ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι. Καὶ παραδειγματίζονται παρὰ τὴν ταύτην ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὰ εἴερα ὀρώμενα, ὅθεν ἐλαττωμένους ἐκείνους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύναται, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μενοντά. Dial. p. 412.

He also says, “ it is particularly remarkable, that Justin Martyr, though he did not approve of this doctrine, passes it without any censure, or mark of heresy *.”

They who adopted this notion would naturally say, that the divinity of Christ was only that of the Father residing in him; and it is not impossible but that, as they are charged by their adversaries, they might, on this principle, say, that Christ was God; and the divinity being the same in both, that he was the very same with the Father. The Holy Spirit being another divine efflux, they might also say, that all the three persons were one. Farther, though the thing is hardly probable, especially as it is, in a manner, given up by some of their antagonists, they might say, that since Christ suf-

* Ubi præcipue notandum est, Justinum quidem sententiam hanc improbare, eam vero sine censura aut hæreseos nota dimittere. Sententiam hancce, quam post Noetum et Praxeam, Sabellius propugnauit, Clementi Alexandrino ex Pædagogia sua placuisse non sine ratione existimo; eamque postea renovabat, et pro ea acriter contendebat, Marcellus Ancyrae episcopus. *Disquisitiones Modestæ*, p. 173.

ferred

ferred while this divine ray, or *logos*, was in him, it also suffered along with him. For, according to the philosophy of those times, though the supreme being himself was incapable either of evil or of passion, yet other beings, derived even from his substance, were capable of those affections. They might therefore imagine, that the *logos*, while *out of the deity*, might suffer together with the person to whom it was attached; and hence they might get the name of *patri-passians*. This, however, would never apply to any but philosophers. The common people are described as simple unitarians, without having any such whimsical hypothesis as this.

This opinion of the *logos* being something like a *divine ray*, emitted from the Father, and properly belonging to him, though for a time attached to the person of Christ, may be traced in Origen and others; and it is ascribed to almost all the eminent men among the unitarians, as late as Marcellus. For it does not appear that his disciple Photinus was ever charged with it.

Origen,

Origen, after saying that Christ is the God of the dead as well as of the living, says, that “perhaps God the logos is God “to those who place every thing in him, “thinking him to be the same with the “Father*.” Celsus objecting to christians that, “while they exclaimed against poly- “theism, think they do not offend by wor- “shipping his servant.” Origen replies, “that he would not have made this objec- “tion, if he had understood what our Sa- “viour says, that he and his Father were “one,” which union he explains by the union of christians, who had one heart and one mind. “This,” he says, “is a sufficient “argument, without having recourse to the “sentiments of those who maintain, that “the Father and the Son are not two hy- “postases†;” by which he must have

* Ο δε θεος λογος ταχα των εν αυτω ισχυων το παν. η των πα-
τερα αυτον νομιζοντων εστι θεος. Comment. vol. 2. p. 48.

† Οτι ειπερ γεννηκει ο Κελσος το, εγω η ο πατηρ εν εσμεν· και το
εν ευχη ειρημενον υπο της υιου της δευ εν τω. Ως εγω και συ εν εσμεν, εκ αν-
ωλο ημας η αλλον δεραπνευειν παρα τον επι πασι θεον. Ο γαρ πα-
τηρ, φησιν, εν εμοι, καγω εν τω πατρι. ει δε. τις εκ των περισπασθη-
σιναι, μη πως αυτομολαμεν προς της αναισθητις δυο ειναι υποστασεις
πατερα

meant the Sabellians, whose doctrine, as far as it may be said to have differed from that of the simple unitarians, was the philosophical unitarianism described above. “The Sabellians,” says, Novatian, “while they say that Christ is a mere man, yet, in a manner, make him to be not the Son, but the Father, and the Father omnipotent *.”

Origen well describes the different classes of unitarians of his time in the following passage: “Hence may be solved the doubts which disturb many, who alledge a principle of piety, and a fear of making two Gods, and by this means fall into false and impious opinions; either denying that the identity of the Son differs from that of the Father; saying, that the Son is God only in name, or denying the divinity of the Son, while they allow his identity,

πάτερα καὶ υἱόν· ἐπισησαίω τω, ἢν δὲ πάντων τῶν πιστευσάντων ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ὡς θεωρήσῃ το, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐσμέν. *Ad Celsum*, lib. 8. p. 385.

* Siquidem Christus non filius, sed pater creditur, et novo more dum ab istis descripte homo nudus adseritur, per eos, rursus Christus pater deus omnipotens comprobatur. *Cap. 12. p. 40.*

“ and that he is a different person from the “ Father, &c *.” The first that he describes were the philosophical unitarians, who allowed the divinity of the Son, but said it was the same with that of the Father ; whereas the latter (probably the common people) denied the divinity of the Son altogether. It is evident from this passage, that the unitarians, in the time of Origen, were numerous ; for he calls them *many*, which he would not have done unnecessarily. The argument by which he solves their doubts has been mentioned before, viz. that the Father is God, *with the article* prefixed, and the Son without it.

* Και το πολλας φιλοθεες ειναι ευχομενους ταραττον, ευλαβεμενους δυο αναγορευσαι θεους, και παρα τελο περιπιπλοντας ψευδεσι και ασεβεσι δογμασιν, ητοι αρνεμενους ιδιοηλια υις ελεραν παρα την τε παλρος ομολογεντας θεον ειναι τον μεχρι ονομαλθ παρ αυτοις υιον προσαγορευομενοι. Η αρνεμενους την θεοτητα τε υιου, τιθεντας δε αυτις την ιδιοηλια, και την υσιαν καλα περιγραφην τυγχανουσιν ελεραν τε παλρος, ενλευθεν λυεσθαι δυναλαι. λεκλειον γαρ αυτοις ολι τοτε μεν αυλοθεθ ο θεος εστι, διοπερ και ο Σωτηρ φησιν εν τη προς τον πατερα ευχη. ινα γινωσκωσι σε τον μονον αληθινον θεον ; παν δε το παρα το αυλοθεθ μελοχη της εκεινε θεοτηθ θεοποιουμενον, εκ ο θεος, αλλα θεος κυριωτερον αν λεγοιλο ω παντως ο πρωτοτοκος πασις κτισεως, ατε πρωτος τω προς τον θεον ειναι. In Johan. Comment. vol. 2. p. 46.

It

It does not appear that the persons to whom Origen refers were charged with saying that the Father suffered; but this is expressly alledged against Noetus, who, as Epiphanius says, “scrupled not to say as “much.” Being interrogated concerning his doctrine, he said, “What evil have I done? “I honour one God. I know but one, and “no other, besides him who was born, “suffered and died*.

This writer acquits the Sabellians of this charge. For he says that “the Sabellians “agree in every thing with the Noetians, “except that they deny that the Father “suffered †.” But Austin blames him for making that difference ‡. And Epiphanius

* Τι γαρ κακον πεποιηκα; ενα θεον δοξάζω, ενα επισημαι, κ' εκ αλλων πολλων αυτην, γεννηθειλα, πεπονθοντα, αποθανοντα. Hær. 57. Opera, vol. 1. p. 480.

† Σαβελλιανοι, οι τα ομοια Νοηταιων δοξάζοντες, παρτα τεις μνον λεγασι γαρ μη πεπονθειναι τον πατερα. Anacephalosis, Opera, vol. 2. p. 146.

‡ Unde vero fit factum, et Noetianos ut Sabellianos non unius hæresis duo nomina, sed tanquam duas hæreses supradictus episcopus poneret, liquido invenire non potui; quia si quid inter se differunt, tam obscure dixit, studio

ascribes to them the proper principle of philosophical unitarianism in the following passage. “ The Sabellians say that the
 “ Son was sent from the Father, as a beam
 “ of light from the sun, to administer
 “ every thing relating to the gospel dispensation, and the salvation of men, and was
 “ then drawn up into heaven, like a beam
 “ of light, which returns to the sun*.” In another description of their principles, he is, perhaps, not quite so accurate. “ Sabellius said, there was but one hypostasis, and the Father, Son, and Spirit,
 “ three names of it; or, as in man, there
 “ are the body, soul, and spirit; the body

forſitan brevitatīs, ut non intelligam. Loco quippe iſto, quo et non tam longe a Noetianis, Sabellianos commemorans, Sabelliani inquit ſimilia Noeto dogmatizantes, præter hoc, quod dicunt patrem non eſſe paſſum, quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi poteſt, cum ſic innotuerint dicere patrem paſſum, ut Patripaſſiani quam Sabelliani crebrius nuncupentur. De Hæreſibus, lib. 1. Opera, vol. 6. p. 91.

* Περμφθενία δὲ τον υιον καιρω ποῶ, ωσπερ ακλινα, και εργαſα-
 μενον τα παντα εν τω κοſμω τα της οικονομιας της ευαγγελικης, και
 ſωτηριας των ανθρωπων, αναληφθενία δὲ αυθις εις υφανον, ως υπο ηλιας
 πεμφθειſαν ακλινα, και παλιν εις τον ηλιον αναδραμεſαν. Hær. 62.
 Opera, vol. 1. p. 513.

“ being

“ being the Father, the soul the Son, and
 “ the spirit the Holy Spirit *.”

This philosophical unitarianism is the doctrine ascribed by Tertullian to Praxeas, though he speaks of the common people as simple unitarians. “ He says, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the same †.” He likewise calls him a *Patripassian*, and says, that “ he first carried the Patripassian doctrine into Rome ‡.” They are Patripassians also whom Cyprian enumerates among heretics. *Epist. Opera*, p. 200.

Beausobre thinks that the charge of Patripassianism was entirely founded on a mistake, and as Lardner observes, Austin only *inferred* that the Sabellians held that doc-

* Τον αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν υἱόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἅγιον πνεῦμα * ὡς εἶναι ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίας, ἢ ὡς ἐν ἀνδρῶπι σῶμα, καὶ ψυχῇ, καὶ πνεύμα. † καὶ εἶναι μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς εἶπεν τὸν πατέρα, ψυχὴν δὲ ὡς εἶπεν τὸν υἱόν, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ ὡς ἀνδρῶπις, εἰς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ θεότητι. *Hær.* 62. *Opera*, vol. 1. p. 513.

† Dum unicum deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et patrem, filium, et spiritum sanctum dicat.—Itaque post tempus pater natus, et pater passus : ipse deus, dominus omnipotens, Jesus Christus prædicatur. *Adv. Praxeam*, sect. 2. *Opera*, p. 501.

‡ Ibid. sect. 1. p. 500.

trine (Credibility, vol. 4. p. 450). Beaufobre accounts for the misrepresentation of the ancients, by supposing that they confounded the terms *word* of God and *Son* of God, because in the theology of the church they were the same, though in the mind of a Sabellian they were very different. *Histoire de Manichéisme*, vol. 1. p. 539.

It is very possible that Tertullian and others might give the epithet of *heretical* to the unitarian doctrine in this obnoxious form only. For it is evident that he did not consider the simple unitarians as heretics, for he says they were the *major pars credentium*, the majority of the believers.

Marcellus is generally described as being what I call a philosophical unitarian, but he is not said to have been a Patripassian. According to Theodoret, he held that “Christ came as an extension of the Father’s divinity. This he called God the “logos; but after all the œconomy” (that is, when the gospel dispensation shall be accomplished) “it will be again drawn into “him, and centered in God, from whom “it had been extended. He called the Holy
“ Spirit

“ Spirit an extension of an extension, and
 “ said that this was given to the apostles *.”

Beryllus, one of the first who is noticed as an unitarian, though celebrated for the elegance of his writings, is not said to have been a Patripassian. He only held that
 “ Christ had no proper subsistence till he
 “ came into this world, and had no divinity
 “ of his own, but only that of the Father
 “ residing in him †.”

It is allowed by Tertullian, that the Patripassians, as well as the orthodox, said that the Father himself was impassible. That was an universal maxim concerning the *divine nature*; but they said that the Father had *compassion* for the Son. Whether this compassion was ascribed by them

* Εκλασιν δὲ τινα τῆς τε πατρὸς θεοῦ ἰησὺς εἶπεν εἰς τὸν χριστὸν ἐληλυθεναι, καὶ ταύτην θεὸν λόγον ἐκάλεσε. μεῖα δὲ τὴν συμπάσαν οἰκονομίαν πάλιν ἀνασπασθῆναι. καὶ συσταλῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἐξ ἧπερ ἐξέλαθη. το δὲ παναγίον πνεῦμα παρεκλασιν τῆς ἐκλάσεως λέγει, καὶ ταύτην τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρασχέσθηναι. Hær. Fab. lib. 2. cap. 10. Opera, vol. 4. p. 224.

† Ἐλεγε καὶ γὰρ τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν ἰησὺν ἄχριστον, μή τινα υποστάσιν ἑστίας ἰδίαν κεκλήσθαι, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνδημεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅδε θεοῦ ἰστίαν εἶχε, μόνην δὲ πατρικὴν υποστάσιν καὶ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπίδημη-
 εσσαν πολίτευσασθαι. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 22. vol. 1. p. 371.

to the Father himself, or only to the divine ray, or logos, that was in Christ, does not appear. Perhaps it was the latter. On this subject Tertullian replies to them as follows. “Wherefore neither had the Father compassion for the Son. For so, thinking to avoid a direct blasphemy, they think it will be lessened in this manner; granting that the Father and Son are two persons, the Son suffering, and the Father sympathizing with him. But in this they are foolish; for what is *sympathizing*, but suffering with another *.”

Notwithstanding this mode in which the unitarian doctrine was held by some philosophizing persons, it appears that they were considered as being mere unitarians, as much as the common people, to whom this mode

* Ergo nec compassus est pater filio; sic enim directam blasphemiam in patrem veriti, diminui eam hoc modo sperant, concedentes jam patrem et filium duos esse; si filius quidem patitur, pater vero compatitur. Stulti in hoc. Quid est enim compati, quam cum alio pati? Porro, si impassibilis pater, utique et incompassibilis. Aut si compassibilis utique passibilis. Nihil ei vel hoc timore tuo præstas. Times dicere passibilem, quem dicis compassibilem. Ad Praxeam, fest. 29. p. 518.

of explaining the doctrine must have been unintelligible ; and all the more distinguished unitarians of that age, whether they be said to explain their sentiments in this manner, or not, are represented as holding the same opinion, and the very same that was maintained by the Jews. Thus Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus, are all classed together by Chrysostom* ; and instances frequently occur, in which all these are said to hold the same doctrine with Artemon, Theodotus, and Paulus Samosatensis. That Sabellius in particular, though he is generally represented as a Patripassian, was nevertheless a proper unitarian, who believed Christ to have no proper divinity of his own, is evident from the arguments with which his antagonists press him.— Thus Epiphanius, in answer to the Sabelians, says that “ Jesus came the Son of God “ to the river Jordan †.”

* Αλλ' ἰδὲ παλιν ἐπισητὰ Σαβελλίος καὶ Μαρκέλλος καὶ Φωτεινός. In Heb. Opera, vol. 10. p. 1763.

† Ἀρμεσασιν αὐλοῖς Σαβελλιανοῖς μὲν μέγα τῶν ἀλλῶν μαρτυριῶν ἢ μαρτυρία τῆς Ἰορδάνης, ὡς ἡδὴ εἶπον. υἱὸς γὰρ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἀληθῶς παρὰ γενέσθαι. Ancoratus, sect. 119. Opera, vol. 2. p. 121.

Whatever Sabellianism was, whether the more simple, or the more philosophical kind of unitarianism, it appears to have been very popular in Africa, and to have had many adherents among the bishops of that country. Athanasius makes heavy complaints on this subject, saying, as was quoted before, that Sabellianism prevailed so much there, that the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches.

The controversy with the philosophical unitarians took a turn considerably different from that with the simple unitarians, and unfortunately led the orthodox into an embarrassment and inconsistency, which became very apparent when the Arian controversy arose. And, indeed, the language that had been adopted as proper for the controversy with the philosophical unitarians, appears to have contributed very much to the rise of Arianism. For as these learned unitarians asserted that the Father, Son, and Spirit (meaning the *divinity* belonging to them) were *the same*, their adversaries had incautiously advanced, that they were *essentially* different, and that the Father and Son
had

had even *different natures*. And so far were the orthodox, in this state of things, from asserting, as they did at the council of Nice, that the Son was *consubstantial* with the Father, that they were the first to assert the direct contrary, as they did in the condemnation of Paulus Samosatensis. Thus Basil says, “that they who condemned “him rejected the word consubstantial *.”

But this language was retracted when Arius was to be condemned. So different a thing was the orthodoxy of the different periods. Optatus, and others, acknowledge that the famous term *consusubstantial*, was first introduced in the Sabellian controversy, when it seems to have been used by the Sabellians, and disclaimed by the orthodox, whose object was to distinguish the members of the trinity, which the Sabellians were charged with confounding (Lib. i. p. 8.) Origen, in answer to the Sabel-

* Και γαρ τω οντι οι επι Παυλω τω Σαμοσαίει συνελθόντες, διάβαλον την λέξιν ως εκ ευσημον. εφασαν γαρ εκεινοι την τε ομοουσιαν φωνην παρισταν εννοιαν υσιος τε κη των απ' αυτης, ως τε καλα μερισθεισαν την υσιαν παρεχειν τε ομοουσιαν την προσηγοριαν τοις εις α διηρεθη.
Epist. 300. Opera, vol. 3. p. 292.

lians,

lians, shows, that in several places the Father and Christ are spoken of as different persons, especially when the Father is said to raise Christ from the dead *. I have observed that Origen expressly maintained that the Son had an *essence* different from that of the Father; and he makes it an objection to the unitarians, that they made the essence of both to be the same. “Be-
 “ cause,” says he, “ Christ is called the true
 “ light, and in the epistle of John God
 “ is called light, some think that the es-
 “ sence of the Son does not differ from
 “ that of the Father†.” On this account, among others, the orthodoxy of Origen was called in question by some after the Arian controversy; whereas it is very evident that

* Μέλα δε τέλω ἐκ αἰοπον ἐστὶ τὸν ομολογεῖν μὴδὲν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν
 εἶναι μὴ τι βλέπει τὸν πατέρα ποιεῖν καὶ λεγοντα ὅτι ὁ δὲ ἀν πατρὶ
 ποιεῖ ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖ, τὸν νεκρὸν ὅπερ τὸ σῶμα ἦν ἡγηγε-
 κεναι, τὰ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τέλω χαριζομένῃ, ὃν προσηγμένῳς λέγειον ἐγηγε-
 κεναι χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Comment. vol. 2. p. p. 187.

† Ἐπεὶ δι φῶς ἀπαξάπλως ἐνταυθα μὲν ὁ σῶτηρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ
 τὰ αὐτῶν Ἰωάννης ἐπιστολὴ λεγέται ὁ θεὸς εἶναι φῶς, ὁ μὲν τις οἶμαι καὶ
 ἐντεῦθεν κατὰσχευάζεσθαι ἡ εἴσα μὴ διεσπέναι τὰ υἱὸν τὸν πατέρα.
 Ibid. p. 70.

both

both his opinions, and his language, were the very same that were held by all the orthodox of his own age; and Athanasius and others made allowance for this, and apologized for him, as they also did for Dionysius of Alexandria, who is often called the Father of Arianism.

Though the orthodox found it convenient to change the use of this word *consubstantial* when the circumstances of things were changed, the unitarians did not; and therefore Marcellus and Eustathius of Antioch, his disciple, declared loudly for it, at the council of Nice, as Beaufobre observes*.

There is another circumstance relating to this controversy that deserves to be particularly noticed; as it also shews what different ideas, and what different language, men will adopt in different situations. As the philosophical unitarians held that the Father, Son, and Spirit (meaning the divinity belonging to them) were the same, and alledged in

* Hist. de Manichéisme, vol. I. p. 542.

proof of this our Saviour saying *I and my Father are one* ; the orthodox, in answer to them, said that the *one* was in the neuter gender, and therefore, that the unity between them was not an unity of *essence*, but only of *harmony*, and *affection*. Novatian says, that “ because Christ says *they were* “ *one*, in the neuter gender, let the heretics “ understand that it signifies the concord “ of society, not unity of person*.” This is the very explanation of this text, that the unitarians after the council of Nice always gave, when the orthodox availed themselves of it, as a proof that the Father and the Son were one in *essence*, or were *consubstantial* to each other. Then nothing could be said too high of the divinity of the Son. But Novatian, who lived before the Arian controversy, says, “ Most of the “ heretics, moved with the greatness and

* Qui potuisset dicere, ego pater, si patrem se esse meminisset. Et quia dixit unum, intelligant hæretici quia non dixit unus. Unum enim neutraliter positum societatis concordiam, non unitatem personæ, sonat. Cap. 27, p. 99.

“ truth of Christ’s divinity, extend his
 “ honours beyond bounds, daring to call
 “ him not God the Son, but God the
 “ Father himself*.” Thus the great ob-
 ject of the orthodox in the second century,
 was to make a God of Christ, but a far *in-*
ferior God, and also a God *of*, or *out of* God
 the Father, lest he should be thought to
 be *another God*, and independent of the Fa-
 ther. On the other hand, the great object
 of the orthodoxy of a later period, was to
 exalt the Son to a perfect equality with the
 Father, so as to allow the Father no ad-
 vantage but what was *nominal*, or respected
 mere *order*. Hence the difference of the
 language, and in the arguments of the two
 different periods. While the unitarians
 always considered the Father as the only
 true God, and Christ *a mere man*, the ser-
 vant of God. And if the more philoso-

* Ut plerique hæreticorum, divinitatis ipsius magnitu-
 dine et veritate commoti, ultra modum extendentes ho-
 nores ejus, ausi sint non filium, sed ipsum deum patrem
 promovere vel putare. Cap. 23. p. 87.

phical among them ascribed any divinity to him, it was only the divinity of the Father, residing in him, and acting by him, and that only for a time; it being withdrawn from him again, when the purpose of its emission had been answered.

C H A P.

C H A P T E R XVIII.

Of the Principles and Arguments of the ancient Unitarians.

I SHALL now proceed to give a distinct view of the principles of the ancient unitarians, and of the arguments by which they defended them ; and I beg that my readers would compare them with the arguments of the trinitarians, of which an account has been given already.

S E C T I O N I.

Their Zeal for the Divine Unity, and their Sense of the Word Logos.

ALL the denominations of unitarians, comprizing both the vulgar and the philosophical part of them, considered themselves as advocates for *the unity of God*, which they thought was infringed by their opponents.

opponents. Of this we have sufficient evidence in every period of their history; and thus much is acknowledged by all their adversaries. Whatever their mistakes were, it was owned that they were led into them by their dread of violating the first, and the greatest of all the principles of religion, viz. that of the proper *unity of the divine nature*. Sufficient evidence of this hath been given already; but to this view of their arguments, I shall prefix a few other passages of the Fathers, which likewise clearly prove it.

Origen evidently considered the unitarians as persons who really *dreaded* lest, by admitting Christ to be God, they should infringe upon the honour that was due to the Father only. “By these means,” he says, “may be explained that which greatly disturbs many persons, who plead a principle of piety, and who fear to make two Gods*.” He afterwards recurs to the same subject, and introduces it as an

* Και το πολλες φιλοθεες ειναι ευχομενες ταρασσειν, ευλαβομενες δυο αναγορευσαι. Comment. in Johannem, Edit. Huetii, vol. 2. p. 46.

objection of persons with whom he would not trifle, and whom he was far from charging with hypocrisy. “But since,” says he, “it is probable that many may be
 “offended, because we say that one is the
 “true God, namely, the Father, and be-
 “sides this true God, there are many who
 “are made gods by participation; fearing
 “that the glory of him, who exceeds all
 “creatures, should be brought down to
 “that of others, who obtained the appella-
 “tion of Gods, &c.*” Origen, therefore, must have thought respectfully of those early unitarians, and have considered them as objecting to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ from the very best principles.

Novatian says, that “when they,” the unitarians, “observe, that it is written there
 “is but one God, they think that they
 “can no otherwise maintain the truth of
 “this, than by asserting, either that Christ is a

* Αλλ' επει ειρησ προσκόψειν τινας τοις ειρημενοις ενος μεν αληθινου θεου τε πατρος απαγγελουμενου, παρα δε τον αληθινον θεον θεων πλειονων τη μελοχη τε θεω γινομενων, ευλαβομενους την τε πασαν κλισιν υπερεχοντος δοξαν εξισωσαι τοις λοιποις της θεου προσηγοριας τυγχανουσι, &c. Comment. in Johannem, Edit. Huetii, vol. 2. p. 46.

“ mere man, or that he is God the Fa-
 “ ther *. Eusebius says, that “ Marcellus
 “ wrote his book in order to assert the
 “ the unity of God †.” He also says, that
 “ Marcellus gloried in acknowledging but
 “ one God ‡.” Athanasius says, that “ the
 “ followers of Marcellus and Photinus de-
 “ nied the pre-existence of Christ, and his
 “ divinity, and his everlasting kingdom,
 “ along with the Jews, on pretence of esta-
 “ blishing a monarchy §.” “ They so cor-
 “ rupt the sacred faith of the gospel,” says
 Hilary, “ that from a profession of re-
 “ verence towards God, they denied the
 “ nativity of his only begotten Son, saying,

* Quia cum animadverterent scriptum esse quod unus sit deus, non aliter putaverant istam tenere se posse sententiam, nisi aut hominem tantum Christum, aut certe deum patrem putarent esse credendum. Cap. 30. p. 116.

† Τὸ φησι πεποιοῦναι, διὰ τοῦ ἐνὶ γνωρίζειν θεοῦ. Ec. Theol. lib. 1. pref. p. 57.

‡ Ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνεῖται αὐτῶν ἐνὰ θεοῦ εἶδεναι. Ibid. cap. 17. p. 80.

§ Οἱ ἀπο Μαρκελλοῦ καὶ Φοτίνου τῶν Ἀκυρογαλαίων, οἱ τὴν προαιωνιον υπαρξίν τε χρίστος, καὶ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀλελεύηλον αὐτῆς βασιλείαν ὁμοίως Ἰσδαίοις ἀδελφεῖσιν, ἐπὶ προφασει τε συνιστάσθαι δοκεῖν τὴ μοναρχίᾳ. De Synodis Armen. Opera, vol. 1. p. 898.

“ that

“that there is a protension, rather than
 “a descent into man*.” In this he al-
 ludes to the principles of the philoso-
 phical unitarians. Gregory Nazianzen, ad-
 dressing the unitarians, calls them, by way
 of ridicule, φιλαγεννητοί, φιλαναρχοί, as pretending
 to a great zeal for the honour of the
 Father, as the unbegotten, and without
 origin†; and in another place he com-
 plains, that “the greatest obstacle to the
 “reception of the truth, was the piety
 “of his hearers‡.” He says they had
 zeal, but not according to knowledge, and
 therefore would be punished with few
 stripes§.

* Quidam ita evangelicæ fidei corrumpunt sacramen-
 tum, ut sub unius dei pia tantum professione nativitatem
 unigeniti dei abnegent: ut protensio sit potius in hominem
 quam descensio. Lib. 1. p. 10.

† Προσεφησομαί σε ολίγον φιλαγεννήτε συ κ̅ φιλαναρχε. Or.
 13. p. 209.

‡ Αλλ’ οὐκ οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι τι διδάσκειν ὑποσχόμενοις ῥατὸν ποιεῖ
 τὸν λόγον κ̅ εὐπαραδεῖλον, ἢ τῶν ἀκροῶν εὐλαβεία, τὸ εἰσάγειν
 ἢ ζημεῖα καθίσταται κ̅ ὁ κινδύνος. Or. 1. p. 17.

§ Καὶ τὸ εἰς λέγω, τῶν μετρίωτερον κ̅ ὁ πάντῃ κακῶν τὸ παθεῖν,
 οἱ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτυροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γε δὲ εὐλαβέει τὸ εἰσάγειν
 χεῖν, κ̅ ζήλον μὲν ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ὁ καὶ ἐπιγνώσιν, τυχεῖν εἶναι τῶν ὁ
 D d 2 σφοδρὰ

There is something particularly striking in the account that Epiphanius gives of the manner in which Sabellians would accost men of plain understanding on the subject of the unity of God, and the usual effect of such zeal and good sense. “ Well, my “ friends,” say they, “ have we one God, or “ three Gods ? and when a pious person, “ and one who is not sufficiently upon “ his guard, hears this, he is immediately “ alarmed, and assents to his error, so as “ to deny the Son, and the Holy Spirit *.”

Cyril of Alexandria says, that “ they
“ who acknowledged only one God, and
“ who denied that he had generated a Son
“ out of himself, pretended that it was from
“ a principle of piety †.” Beaufobre there-

σφοδρά καίαινονμενων, ἔδε πολλας θερμενων, ὡς οἱ διὰ κακίαν καὶ
πρωτηριαν, τὰ δεσποτικὰ θελημαλὸς αποπιπλόντες. Or. I. p. 18.

* Εἶλα ὁὖν συνανήσῃσι τισὶ τῶν ἀφελεσάων, ἡ ἀμεροῶν, τῶν μὴ
 τα σαφῆ τῶν θείων γραφῶν γινωσκῶν, τὴν πνευστίν αὐτοῖς υἱηγεῖναι
 ταύτην. τί αὖν εἰπώμεν, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ἐνὰ θεὸν ἐχομεν, ἡ τρεῖς θεοὺς; ὁὖν δὲ
 ἀκροῖται ὁ ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ ὢν, καὶ μὴ τὰ τελεῖα τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐπισταμεν^Θ,
 εὐδὺς τὸν νέον ταραχθεὶς, συνκαλῶν τὴν ἐκείνων πλάνην, καὶ εὐρίσκειται
 ἀρνημεν^Θ τὸν θεόν, καὶ εὐρίσκειται ἀρνημεν^Θ τὸ εἶναι υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον
 πνεῦμα. Hær. 62. Opera, vol. 1. p. 514.

† Εἶλα τι φαῖεν αὐ, οἱ τοῖς πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀθῆναίσαμενοι λόγοις, καὶ
υποπλάττομενοι μὲν τὴν εὐσεβείαν, διὰ γε τὸ συννομολογεῖν ὡς εἴη θεός,

therefore had reason to acknowledge that Sabellianism was innocent in its origin, and arose from the fear of making more gods than one *.

That the cause of the unitarians was considered as the same with that of the Jews, the great advocates of the divine unity appears from Chrysostom, who, speaking of the divinity of Christ, as proved from the Old Testament, says, that “ if
“ any Jew, under the form of a christian,
“ lift up his head (I mean Paulus Samosatenfis) the same arguments may be used
“ against him;” and afterwards, “ what
“ was said against the Jews, may be said to
“ those who have the same origin †.” M. Caleca also makes Sabellianism to be the same thing with Judaism ‡.

εις τε ἡ' μονος * εμην οἱ ἡ' γεγεννηκεν ἐξ' εἰς τὸν υἱον. Contra Julianum, lib. 1. Juliani, Opera, vol. 2. p. 22.

* Histoire de Manichéisme, vol. 1. p. 535.

† Εἰ δὲ ἕτερος ἡμῖν Ἰουδαῖος ἀνακυπτει πάλιν προσώπων χριστιανῶν περιφερών, Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσαίτις, λέγω, δύνατον μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς λέγειν Δεῖ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπερὸς Ἰουδαίους εἰρῆσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰπεῖν. In Ps. 109. Opera, vol. 3. p. 323.

‡ Οὐ τὸ λέγω, οἱ ὁ παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ υἱός, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα * τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖον ἐστὶ καὶ δοξά τὴν Σαβελως. Combefis Auctuarium, vol. 2. p. 203.

My readers will probably wish to know in what sense the ancient unitarians understood the term *logos*, of which so many different opinions have been entertained by christians; and on this head it is in my power to give them the most complete satisfaction. The *logos* has been so long considered by the generality of christians as synonymous to *Christ*, that they think any other interpretation to be harsh and unnatural. Socinus himself, and many who are now called Socinians, considered it as meaning *the gospel*, or the word of God, in its most literal sense. But all the ancient unitarians, without exception, considered it as signifying that *word of God* by which the world was made, viz. the *power* of God, his essential operative attribute; and it will appear, that they were exceedingly surprised at hearing of any other interpretation of it. Now, considering that the common people, as well as the learned, among the unitarians, had this idea of it, it cannot but be concluded to have been the proper original sense of the term, because it was so understood by those very persons for whose

use the gospel of John was written. This is an article of so much consequence, that I shall produce a considerable number of authorities for it; disposing of them pretty nearly according to the age of the writers from whom they are collected.

Hippolytus, writing against Noetus, says, “ I shall be told, you tell me something strange, when you call the logos “ the Son *.” In the larger exposition of faith ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, it is said, “ Some make the wisdom of “ God to resemble the wisdom of man, “ because he is wise, and his word to be “ like that word which is uttered, or conceived, in the mind, without any hypothesis †.” “ Some disciples of Paulus

* *Αλλ' ερει μοι τις, ξενον μοι φερεις λογον λεγων υιον.* Opera, p. 16.

† Non minus alieni sunt, qui trinitatem non secundum veritatem ex tribus personis constituentur, sed in unitate triplicatam secundum compositionem impie fingunt, et sapientiam in deo existimant esse sicut in homine sapientiam humanam, qua sapiens est: et verbum simile esse interpretantur verbo quod ore profertur, vel mente concipitur, nulla hypostasi. Opera, p. 16.

“ Samosatensis,” says Athanasius, “ distinguish the logos from the Son, saying, “ that the Son is Christ, but the logos is “ another thing*.” “ Paulus Samosatensis,” says Epiphanius, held that the logos “ of God, and his spirit, was always in “ God, as the logos of man is in man ; and “ that the Son had no personal subsistence, “ which was also the doctrine of Sabellius, “ Novatus, Noetus. and others †.” Hilary also says that “ the word of God, according to the heretics, was the power “ of God ‡.”

That this was the doctrine of Marcellus and Photinus, we have the clearest evidence,

* *Τινες των απο της Σαμοσατειας, διαιρεντες τον λογον απο της υιου, φασκεσι τον μεν υιον ειναι τον χριστον, τον δε λογον αλλον ειναι.* Contra Arianos, Or. 5. Opera, vol. I. p. 543.

† *Εν θεω δε αει οντα τον αυτην λογον, και το πνευμα αυτη, ωσπερ εν ανθρωπω καρδια ο ιδιου λογου. μη ειναι δε τον υιον της θεου ενυποστατον, αλλα εν αυτω θεω. ωσπερ αμελει και ο Σαβελλιου, και ο Ναυαίου, και ο Νοηίου, και αλλοι.* Hær. 65. Opera, vol. I. p. 608.

‡ Per quod etiam illud vitii adjungitur, ut deus verbum tanquam pars aliqua virtutum dei, quodam se tractu continuationis extendens hominem illum, qui a Maria esse cœpit habitaverit, et virtutibus divinæ operationis instruxerit ; animæ tamen suæ motu naturaque viventem. Lib. 10. p. 258.

especially

especially from Eusebius, who wrote against the former of them. “ Marcellus,” he says, “ believed Christ to be the word of “ God, but a *mere word*, like that of man, “ and not a living and substantial son *.” Again, he says, “ Marcellus asserts, that “ the logos is not used by way of figure, “ though those who teach the contrary “ should burst with their lies, but simply “ and truly logos,” or reason †. “ Mar- “ cellus held that the logos was always “ united to, and connected with the Fa- “ ther ‡.” He held that the “ logos was in “ God, as his reason ; that it was for a time “ out of God, and returned into him at the “ day of judgment, and was then united to “ him as it had been before §.” Chrysostom

* Ψιλον γαρ, και τω ανθρωπειω λογω ομοιον, εχει δε υιον αληθως ζωντα και υφεστωτα, του χριστον ειναι ομολογειν εθελει. Contra Marcellum, lib. 1. p. 19.

† Ου καταχρηστικως λογος ονομασθεις και διαρραγοιεν οι ιεροδιδασκαλεις ψευδομενοι, αλλα κυριως τε και αληθως υπαρχεν λογος. Ibid. lib. 2. p. 40.

‡ Τελον αυτον λογον εχειν εν εαυτω ενωμενον και συνημμενον αυτω φησιν. Ec. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 63.

§ Τοσαυτα Μαρκελλος περι τς λογς ειπων, τς εν τω ζωω, καθ' ο-
νομα εναντιω λογικον ειναι, δεητη δυσχωρια περιπεπλυκε, τολμησας εκτος

also says, that “ Marcellus, Photinus, and
 “ Sophronius, say that the *logos* is an
 “ energy, and that this energy inhabits
 “ him who was the son of David, but is
 “ not a subsisting person *.” Theophilact
 repeats this in almost the same words, say-
 ing, “ Marcellus of Galatia, Photinus, and
 “ Sophronius, said that the *logos* was the
 “ energy of God, and not a personal sub-
 “ sistence, and that it inhabited a descen-
 “ dant of David †.” Epiphanius says, that
 “ Photinus asserted that the *logos* of God
 “ was from the beginning, but that it was
 “ not the Son of God ‡.”

I shall add a few other testimonies from
 later writers. Cyril of Alexandria, writing

τε δεσ γεγονεναι πωτε φαναι τον εν αυτω λογον . και παλιν ενις αυις
 μελα τον καιρον της κρισεως · ιν ειως ην εν τω δεω ενωθεις αυτω , ωσπερ
 και προτερον ην . Ec. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 8, p. 113.

* Μαρκελλος και Φωτεινος, και Σωφρωνιος, τον λογον ενεργειαν ειναι
 φασι, την δε ενεργειαν ταυτην νοικησαι τω εκ σπερματος Δαβ.δ, εκ
 εστιαν ενυποστατον . In Phil. 2. Opera, vol. 10. p. 1239.

† Μαρκελλος ο Γαλατης, και Φωτεινος, και Σωφρωνιος, ελεγον τον
 λογον τε δεσ ενεργειαν ειναι, εκ εστιαν ενυποστατον · ταυτην δε νοικησαι
 τον εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ. In Phil. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 591.

‡ Και αυτος φημι ειναι τον λογον απ αρχης, αλλ' εχ' υιον δεσ γεγεν-
 ημενον. Hær. 71. p. 831.

against

against Theodorus, who is said to have been the proper father of Nestorianism (which differed very little from the unitarian doctrine) evidently supposes that this was the received doctrine of the unitarians, when he says, “ It is false to say that the word
“ of God has no substance. It is the
“ eructation of a foolish heart; For he
“ himself said to Moses, I am that I am,
“ and therefore they who think so we deem
“ most stupid *.” Again, replying to those who said that the logos is *verbum insitum*, or the proper internal reason of the Father,
“ Why did not our Saviour say, I and the
“ word of my Father are one, and he that
“ sees me, sees the word of the Father.” He adds, that “ the logos, in the introduc-
“ tion to the gospel of John has the article
“ prefixed to it, which shews that it did

* Minime enim mentietur falsissimum esse sermonem, quod verbum quod ex deo apparuit, dicatur non habuisse substantiam : est enim stultissimi cordis eructatio. Nam ipse dicebat Mosi ego sum qui sum : quomodo autem unquam hoc quod vere est, in substantia per se non servari intelligitur ? et propterea eos qui sic sentiunt, merito rudissimos esse definimus. Opera, vol. 2. p. 687.

“ not

“not mean *reason* in general, but a particular specific *logos**.” I do not think it at all necessary to reply to the reasoning of Cyril in this place, I only quote him in order to ascertain what it was that the unitarians, his adversaries, thought on the subject.

The emperor Julian gives his testimony to the unitarians having supposed that by *logos* was intended the power of God, “Some of the impious,” meaning the christians, he says, “say that Jesus Christ is one person, and he that is called the *logos* by John another †.” He likewise says that “John does not mention the name of Jesus, or

* *Præterea si unigenitus dei filius idcirco verbum est et vocatur, quoniam (ut ipsi dicunt) infinitum patris verbum suscipiens, ad illud formatur: cur non dixit ad discipulos, ego et verbum patris unum sumus: et, qui me videt, is etiam verbum patris videt?—Ideo videmus filium hominis, articulo ad utrumque nomen præposito, salvatore nostro proferri, quando se solum ab infinita hominum multitudine velit significare. In John, cap. 4. Opera, vol. 1. p. 610.*

† *Και τοι δοκει τισι των δυσσεβων αλλον μεν Ιησυν ειναι χριστον, αλλον δε τον υπο Ιωαννης κηρυττιομενον λογον. Cyril. Contra Jul. lib. 10. Opera, vol. 2. p. 333.*

“ of Christ, when he calls him God and
“ *logos* *.”

This use of the term *logos* or *word*, is common in the Old Testament, as when the Psalmist says, *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made*, &c. and Macarius, having no view to this controversy, says, “ The word of God is God, and the “ word of the world is the world,” and then speaks of the difference between the word of God and the word of the world, and between the children of God, and the children of the world †.

In this sense, according to Eusebius, the Jews always understood the term *logos*. “ If “ any one,” says he, “ suppose that the “ Son is a mere *word*—that it is quiescent “ in the Father, when he is quiescent, but “ was active when he made the world, re-

* Οὐδαμῶς δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπε Ἰησοῦν, εἶπε χριστόν, ἀλλοίς ἢ θεὸν καὶ λόγον ἀποκαλεῖ. Cyril. Contra Jul. lib. 10. Opera, vol. 2. p. 327.

† Ο ὅτι θεὸς λόγος, θεὸς ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ λόγος τὸν κόσμον κοσμεῖ ἐστίν. πολλὴ δὲ διαφορὰ καὶ μεσότης τύχαι, τὸ τε λόγος τε θεὸς, καὶ τὸ λόγος τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸν θεόν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸν κόσμον. ἡμεῖς γὰρ γεννητὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἶπε γονευστίν. Opera, p. 223.

“ *seemling*

“sembling the logos of man, which is
 “quiescent when we are silent, but active
 “when we speak; it is evident that he
 “interprets as the Jews do, and according
 “to human reason, and that he denies the
 “true Son of God *.” He then adds what
 was quoted in this volume, p. 13. concern-
 ing the Jews acknowledging that God has
 a logos, but no Son.

* Ο δὲ ψιλὸν λόγον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολαμβάνων, καὶ μόνον λόγον
 εἶναι μαρτυρούμενος, καὶ πολλάκις τὰτ' αὐτὸ λέγων ὡς ἔθεν εἴτερον ἢ τὸ
 λόγον, ἐνδὸν μένων ἐν τῷ ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ πατρὶ, ἐνεργῶν τε ἐν τῷ
 ἡμέτερῳ τὴν κλίσιν δημιουργεῖν· ὁμοίως τῷ ἡμέτερῳ, ἐν σιῳπῶσι μὲν ἡσυ-
 χάζοντι, ἐν δὲ φθεγγόμενοις ἐνεργεῖν, δηλοναὶ εἰς Ἰσραὴλιν τινα καὶ ἀν-
 ὄρωπινῳ συνίρεχων φρονήματι, τὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς υἱὸν τε δεῦρ' ἀναγόμενον.
 Contra Marcellum, *lib.* I. p. 4.

S E C T I O N II.

Arguments of the ancient Unitarians from Reason.

HAVING stated what the principles of the ancient unitarians were, I shall in the next place, give a view of the *arguments* by which they defended them ; and as some of these were drawn from the principles of reason, and others from the scriptures, I shall mention the former in the first place. But in this I need not insist upon their capital argument, viz. that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and of the trinity, is an infringement of the great doctrine of natural and revealed religion, *the unity of God*. This has appeared sufficiently already. Also many of their other arguments have been mentioned in the replies of their trinitarian adversaries. I shall, therefore, only recite such others as have happened to occur separately.

That

That the ancient unitarians were much addicted to *reasoning*, and that they often disputed with great acuteness and subtilty, so as to puzzle their opponents, may be inferred from what is said of them by Eusebius, viz. that “they neglected the “ scriptures, and reasoned in syllogisms*.” No doubt they did reason, and probably in the syllogistic form, as was the custom with logicians, and I doubt not very closely and justly; but it will be seen that they were far from neglecting the scriptures.

According to the most ancient doctrine of the generation of the Son, there was a time when the Father was simply *one*, and had not generated this Son. Upon this idea, Marcellus said that, “if it be a perfection in the Father to have a Son, he “ was imperfect while he was without “ one †.”

* Ου τι αι θειαι λεγασι γραφαι ζητηντες, αλλ' οποιον σχημα συλλογισμῶν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀθεοότητος εὐρεθὴ συστασιν, φιλοπενῶς ασκηντες. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 253.

† Εἰ γὰρ αἰετὲς ὁ θεός, καὶ παρῇ αὐτῷ δύναμις τῆς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ καλὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα τῆς τοιούτης υἱοῦ, ἀναβαλλέμεναι, καὶ εἰ αὐτὸν τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ἐξ ἑδυνάμει πατρὸς εἶναι υἱοῦ. Contra Marcellum, lib. 1. p. 22.

To

To the doctrine of divine generation in general, the objection was, that the divine essence must then be corporeal. “Marcellus said, that, if the Son be a *probole*,” or production, “from the Father, and he be
“his offspring, like the offspring of other
“living creatures, both the being pro-
“ducing, and the being produced, must be
“corporeal *.”

That the Son, who was generated from the Father, was allowed by those who first advanced that doctrine to be inferior to the Father, the most abundant proof has been given. Afterwards all this was retracted. But the unitarians retorted it upon them. “The enemies of truth,” says Chrysostom, “urge that, if the Son be equal to the
“Father, why did not the Father become
“incarnate? As it was the Son who took
“the form of a servant, is it not plain that
“he is inferior. But if on this account
“he took human nature, the Spirit, who,

‡ Εἰ γὰρ προβολὴ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ γενναί μεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
ὅποια τὰ τῶ ζῶων γεννημάτα, ἀνάγκη σῶμα εἶναι τὸν προβαλλόντα καὶ
τὸν προβεβλημένον. *Contra Marcellum*, lib. i. p. 22.

“ they say (though we do not acknowledge
 “ this) is inferior to the Son, should have
 “ been incarnate*.”

The trinitarians, giving a reason for the mystery of the incarnation, held that the divinity gave a value to the sufferings of the human nature to which it was united. But the unitarians urged the absurdity of this; saying, according to Theodoret, “ If a man
 “ only suffered, it was a man that saved
 “ us†.” This is an argument to which the orthodox have always made very lame replies. They have never chose to say that the *deity* of Christ suffered, or that it partook of the sufferings of the human nature. Consequently, if it was only *man* that suffered, the satisfaction made by that suffering could only be finite; and in fact,

* Και γαρ και τὸ περιφερασιν οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροί, λεγοντες; ὅτι εἰ ἰσος ἦν τῷ γεγεννημένῳ, τίνος ἐνεκεν ὁ πατήρ ἐκ ἀνελαβὲς σαρκὰ, ἀλλ’ υἱὸς ὑπεδὺ τὴν τε δούλῃ μορφῇ; ἀρὰ ἐκ εὐδῆλον, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ κατὰ-δееερος ἦν; καὶ μὴν εἰ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπεδὺ φύσιν, τὸ πνευ-μα, ὁ φασιν αὐτοὶ τὴν εἰς ἐλατῖον εἶναι (καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς εἰποίμεν) ἐκεῖνο σαρκωδῆναι εἶδει. Ser. 51. Opera, vol. 5. p. 697.

† Ἄνθρωπος ὅν ἡμῖν παρέσχε τὴν σωτηρίαν. Dial. 3. Opera, vol. 4. p. 116.

could

could extend no farther than the sufferings of any other man.

Novatian says, in proof of the divinity of Christ, “ if he be only a man, why is he every where invoked, since it is the nature not of man, but of God, to be present in every place * ?” But whatever might be the case in the time of Novatian (when what he says could not be true of any besides the trinitarians) this certainly was not the practice even with *them* in the time of Origen, who flourished not more than twenty years before him. This has been shewn already, and therefore this universal practice might have been urged, and probably was urged, by the ancient unitarians, as an argument in their favour. According to Origen, the custom of christians was to pray to God through Christ †. And

* Si homo tantummodo Christus ; quomodo abest ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed dei, ut adeste omni loco possit ? Cap. 14. p. 45.

† Ὁρῶσκουµεν ἐν τῷ πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὴν ἀληθειαν, οὐκ ἂν δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πραγµάτια, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁµοιοῖα, καὶ τῇ συµφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτοσίᾳ τῶν βεληµάτων. Ad Celsum, lib. 8. p. 386.

Christ was supposed to join in their prayers. “We are not to pray,” says he, “without our high-priest *.” In like manner, other saints were supposed, in the time of Origen, to bear their part in the prayers of the churches to which they had belonged, long before it was thought right to pray *to* them, and this was the natural progress of things with respect to Christ.

It has been seen how strenuously the ancient unitarians insisted upon the *antiquity* of their doctrine, and how far all the learned trinitarians conceded to them, by admitting that, in the time of the apostles, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was not taught openly; because the world was not then ready to receive it. It has also been seen that Basil was charged with introducing *novelty* into his diocese, especially in his form of doxology to the Holy Spirit; from which it is evident, that the unitarians of that age and country considered his doctrine as having had some other origin than either the scriptures, or christ-

* *Αλλά μὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.* De Oratione, p. 49.

tian antiquity; and one of them certainly thought very justly of it, when he said to Basil, “I know nothing of your foreign “philosophy*.” In that country, the authority of Gregory Thaumaturgus was very great, and it was appealed to both by Basil and his adversaries, who were perhaps better judges than himself, of what had been the custom before he came into the diocese. In a letter to his clergy, he says, “do not “despise the hypostases, do not deny the “name of Christ, or pervert the sayings of “Gregory †.”

Gregory Nyssen says, that he and his friends were charged with innovation when they taught the doctrine of three hypostases, of one goodness, one power, and one divinity ‡.”

* Ου γαρ συνιμι υμων της αλλοκοῦς σοφιας. De Sp. S. cap. 17. Opera, vol. 2. p. 330.

† Τας υποστασεις μη αδελεε, το ονομα τε χριςτς μη απαρεισθες, τας τε Γρηγορις φονας μη παρεξηγησθε. Epist. 63. Opera, vol. 3. p. 98.

‡ Αλλ' καινοτομιαν ημιν προφερουσιν ειωσι το εγκλημα κατ' ημιν συνιδεντες. τρεις υποστασεις ομολογεντων, μιαν αγαθειαν, μιαν δυναμιν κ' μιαν δεοτητα λεγειν ημας αλλιωται. De Trinitate, vol. 2. p. 439.

The apostles creed has been shewn to afford a strong argument for the antiquity and purity of the ancient unitarian doctrine. This argument was urged by Photinus, who, according to Ruffinus, pleaded that “the apostles creed, literally understood, was in his favour*.” Marcellus, in his epistle, quotes the whole of the apostles creed, and assents to it †.

The orthodox used to alledge the received mode of baptism as a proof of the divinity of Christ; but we learn from Basil, that the unitarians replied, that “baptizing in the name of the Spirit was no proof of his godhead, because mention is made of baptizing unto Moses‡.”

* Fotinum vero hæreticum scio eatenus scripsisse, non ut rationem dictorum audientibus explanaret, sed ut simpliciter fideliterque dicta, ad argumentum sui dogmatis traheret. In Symbol. pref. p. 169.

† Epiphani, Opera, vol. i. p. 836.

‡ Ἀλλ’ ὅδε εἰ βαπτίζομεθα, φησιν, εἰς αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ εἰς δικαίον μέγα θεὸν τεύχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ, καὶ εἰς τὸν Μωσὴν τινες ἐβαπτίσθησαν, ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. De Sp. S. cap. 14. Opera, vol. 2. p. 318.

S E C T I O N III.

Arguments of the ancient Unitarians from the Scriptures.

THE great strong hold of the unitarians was the scriptures, and the plain literal sense of them. “ They bawl out”, says Basil, “ with their proofs from scripture, “ and make no account of the unwritten “ traditions of the Fathers*.” And Photinus, in his dispute with Basil, said that “ he could prove his doctrine by a hundred “ passages of scripture†.” The orthodox in general, complained of the advantage which the unitarians had in appealing to the literal sense of the scripture. “ If,” says Gregory Nyssen, “ a man rests in the

* Τας εκ των εγγραφων αποδείξεις επιδουλιαι, την αγραφων των πατερων μαρτυριαν ως κθενος αξιαν αποπεμπομενοι. De Sp. S. cap. 10. Opera, vol. 2. p. 313.

† Και μελα καυχησεως περι της υποθεσεως εκάλεν μαρτυριας φερειν ο γενοδας επηγγελιατο. Epiphanius, Hist. 70. vol. 1. p. 829.

“bare letter, so far he judaizes in opinion,
 “and has not learned that a christian is not
 “the disciple of the letter, but of the Spirit,
 “for the letter killeth, but the Spirit
 “giveth life*.”

It is to be observed, that by *judaizing*, was meant adopting the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ. For the ancient unitarians were commonly compared by the orthodox to Jews, and the Arians to Gentiles, as worshippers of two gods; the Arian logos not being of the same substance with the Father; and therefore a maker of the world, or a God, quite distinct from him.

Gregory Nazianzen also represents the heretics as drawing many to them by their interpretation of the scriptures †.

* Ουκεν, ει ψιλω παραμενει τω γραμματι, η καλα τειλο το μερος Ιεδαιζει τη γνωμη, η επω πεπαιδευται οτι εχι γραμματος ετι χριστιανου μαθητης, αλλα πνευματι. το γαρ γραμμα, φησιν, απεκτεινει, το δε πνευμα ζωοποιει. *Contra Eunomium Oratio 16. Opera. vol. 2. p. 311.*

† Τας δε παρα των δειων γραφων, εντασεις τε η ανηιδεσεις αις οι τε γραμματος ιεζουλι, η τον νεν των γεγραμμενων κλεπτοντες τας πολλας σφειριζονται, η την οδον της αληθειας ταρασσεται. *Or. 36. Opera, p. 577.*

With

With respect to the Old Testament, it was the general complaint of the orthodox that the unitarians interpreted it as the Jews did, and proved the doctrine of the unity of God from it. I therefore do not need to mention many of their arguments. Justin Martyr pretended to prove from the appearance to Moses in the bush, that it was not Jehovah himself who spake to him, but Christ. But Marcellus argues from the same thing, in favour of his doctrine, probably considering the God that spake from the bush as the Supreme Being, who was self-existent, and had no rival; for Eusebius says, that “Marcellus argued from *“ I am that I am*.”*

Of the unitarians alledging, Deut. vi. 6. *Hear O Israel the Lord thy God is one Lord,* and also, Isa. xli. 4. *I am the first and I am the last, and besides me there is no other* (a text almost as celebrated as that of Moses) I could produce numberless instances, and they are both generally alledged at the same time. Marcellus, after quoting the latter,

* Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 130.

says,

says, “ There is therefore no younger God, “ nor any other besides the God who is the “ last, able to co-operate with God *.”

It has been seen, that the trinitarians endeavoured to prove the divinity of Christ from the Old Testament. On the other hand, the unitarians were not wanting, on their part, to prove his simple humanity from it.

Theodotus urged, Deut. xviii. 13. *A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee, of thy brethren like unto me* †. And certainly, if he was to be like Moses, he could not be God.

The unitarians argued from Ps. cx. (*Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Mel-*

* Εγω γαρ ειμι, φησι, θεος πρωτος, κ̃ εγω μελα ταυια, κ̃ πλην εμ̃ θεος εις ερος εκ εστιν. ε̃λε εν νεωτερος τις θεος εστιν, ε̃λε αλλος τις μελα ταυια θεος ων, θεω συνεργειν δυνατος ην. Eusebius Contra Marcellum, lib. 2. p. 41.

† Και παλιν δε ο αυλος Θεοδοσιος φησι, κ̃ ο νομος περι αυ̃ς εφη, Προφητην εκ των αδελφων υμων εγερει κυριος ως εμε: αυ̃ς ακησε̃ς. Μωυσης δε ην ανθρωπος. ο δε εκ θε̃ς εγειρομενος, φησι, χριςτος ε̃λος εκ εν θεος αλλα ανθρωπος: επειδη̃ εξ αυ̃: ν ην, κ̃ Μωυσης ανθρωπος ην. Epiphanius, Hær. 54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 461.

cbizedek)

chizedek) that Christ was inferior to Melchizedek *.

Theodotus argued from If. liii. in which the Messiah is foretold as to be a *man of sorrows*, &c. †.

It is remarkable that the *wisdom*, of which Solomon gives a figurative description in the book of Proverbs, had been so long interpreted to mean *Christ*, that even Marcellus allowed it, and made use of it to prove, that Christ was a creature, as the Arians did, and thought that it referred to his human nature only ‡. A much better, and a more natural, interpretation is, that it has no reference to Christ at all.

* Και ως ειναι τριον & μονον δυναμιν τινα, αλλα & μειζοτερον τς χρις φασι ης, χρισον δε ηγενται απλως εληλυθοια, & καλαξιωθενης της εκεινης ταξεως, δηθεν εκ ρης τς ειρημενης, συ ει ιερεις εις τον αιωνα καλα την ταξιν Μελχισεδεκ. ως ειναι, φησιν, αυτον εις υποδεεσμενον τς Μελχισεδεκ. Epiphani. Hær. 55. p. 468.

† Είλα ο αυλος παλιν φησι Θεοδοι, οτι & Εσαιας περι αυς εφη, οτι ανθρωπος εστιν, ειως ειπων, ανθρωπιδειως φερειν μαλακιαν· & ειδομεν αυτον εν πληγη, & εν κακωσει & ημιμασθι, και εκ ελογισθι. Ibid. Hær. 54. p. 466.

‡ Το τοιουν κεφαλαιον τρι της παροιμιας, & την αρχην της δεοησ, ωσπερ αυλοι νυμσσι, τς σωτηρος ημων παραστησαι βελομενοι, κυριος εκλισε με, εφη, αλλα την δευτεραν καλα σαρκα οικονομειαν. Euseb. con. Marcellum, lib. 2. p. 45.

Dr. Lardner discovers traces of Nazaræan, or Sabellian interpretations of scripture in Eusebius, which he accounts for by supposing, that they were borrowed from some other writer, and inserted into his own work, which, he says, was a frequent method with christian commentators. He gives the following instances :

“ All the Father’s grace was poured out
 “ upon the beloved, for it was the Father
 “ that spake in him.” Again, upon Pf. lxxii. “ This righteousness of the Father is
 “ given to the king’s son, of the seed of David, according to the flesh, in whom, as
 “ in a temple, dwelled the word, and wisdom, and righteousness of God.”

Once more, referring to Isaiah lxi. 1. and Luke iv. 18. “ shewing,” says he, “ that
 “ his was not a bodily anointing, like that
 “ of others, but that he was anointed with
 “ the spirit of the Father’s deity, and therefore called *Christ* *.”

* Επει δε τε αγαπηηε πασα η πατρικη εις αυτον ενεκωθη χαρις .
 ην γαρ ο πατηρ λαλων εν υιω. Αυτη τοιουν η τε πατρὸς δικαιοσυνη τω
 υιω τε βασιλευω δεδοται, τω εκ σπερματος Δαυιδ κατὰ σαρκα . εν ω
 κλιωκησεν ωσπερ νωω ο τε θεω λογω, και η σοφια, και δικαιοσυνη. Δι-
 δασκων,

Well might Gregory Nyssen, and others, complain of the advantage which the unitarians derived from the literal interpretation of the *New Testament*, which it is hardly possible to open without finding a decisive argument against the trinitarian system. I shall give some examples of the arguments which the ancient unitarians drew from it.

In proof of the proper unity of God, Marcellus argued from Mark xii. 28. *There is one God, and there is no other but he* *.

The inferiority of the Son to the Father, the unitarians proved, from a variety of circumstances, one of which was, Christ being called a *servant*; and they chose to adhere to that language in speaking of Christ, that they might honour the Father. “ On what

δασκων, τω δε πνευματι της πατρικης θεότητος κεχρισμενον, και δια τello χριστον ανηγορευμενον. *Credibility*, vol. 8. p. 82.

* Αλλ' ο μεν γραμματευσ, δια τε νομικ θεοσεβειαν μεμαθηκειαι δοκων, επαινων το τε σωτηρος ρηλον φανειναι, ακυε Ισραηλ, λεγων, κυριο, ι θεος σκ εις εστι * και ορκω καλωσ ειρησθαι πιστευομενον * επ αληθειας γαρ φησιν. ειπας, οτι εις εστιν ο θεος και ουκ εστιν αλλος πλεον αυτου. οι δε τα της νεας διαθηκης αυχενες ειδειναι μυστηρια, ετοι και δευτερον απηλαττειν θεον βελονται υποσασει και δυναμει χωριζομενον τε πατρός. *Euseb. Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 131.*

“ account,”

“account,” says Chrysostom, “do you call
 “Christ a servant? That we may honour
 “the Father. But the Son says, that all
 “men may honour the Son, even as they
 “honour the Father*.”

The unitarians urged, that, as a servant, Christ was *sent* by the Father, being subject to his orders. This, they also said, was a proof that Christ was not omnipresent. It may be curious to see what Chrysostom said in answer to this argument. “To be
 “sent of God,” says he, “does not imply
 “removal from place to place, but the ma-
 “nifestation of the œconomy. Concerning
 “John the Baptist, who was of the earth,
 “and who appeared upon the earth, the
 “gospel says, There was a man sent from
 “God †.”

* Τινος δε ενεκεν αυτον υπεργον φατε* ινα τιμησωμεν τον πατερα .
 η μην ο υιος φησιν; ινα παντες τιμωσι τον υιον καθως τιμωσι τον
 πατερα In Pf. Opera, vol 3. p. 121.

† Οτι το απεσταλδαι παρα του θεου, η την απο τοπων εις τοπους
 μεταστασιν σημαινει αλλα της οικονομιας την φανερωσιν. Περι Ιωαν-
 νη τε βαπτιστου λεγει το ευαγγελιον τε απο γης ονιος, και απο γης φανε-
 ρωθενος. Εγενετο ανθρωπος απεσταλμενος παρα θεου. Ser. 5.
 Opera, vol. 6. p. 59.

When

When the unitarians were urged with the Father and the Son being said to be *one*, they said that they were one by consent and harmony, and proved it from Christ's saying, that his disciples might be one with them, as they two were one*.

The reward that was given to Christ, on account of his services and sufferings, was alledged by the ancient unitarians as a proof of his having been employed by God as his servant, and that he had no dignity before. "The heretics," says Chrysostom, "urge " that Christ was advanced on account of " his sufferings. But he replies, that men- " tion is made by John of his dignity before " his suffering †." The unitarians likewise

* Quando igitur ad evertendam naturalem trinitatis identitatem, hunc locum in medium hæreticus affert, quemadmodum dicens, nos non identitate absoluta corporum, nec animarum alterius in alteram confusione unum sumus; sed affectu charitatis, animarumque ad servanda mandata dei consensu; sic et unum filius cum patre est. Cyril Alex. in Joan. lib. 11. p. 987.

† Διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν υπερύψωσε· διὰ τὸ πάθος, ὡς μισθὸν τῶ παθούσας δέδωκώς αὐτῷ τὴν ὑψώσιν. Πάντως λέγεις, αἰρέθηκε καὶ ἐδόκεν αὐτῷ ὄνομα ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων. Ἰνα ἐν τῷ ὀνομασί, ἴηται πάντων γένων καμψῶν, ἐπετρανῶν, καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ κατὰχθονίων. Ὁρᾷς φησι, μείλα τον σταυρὸν ὑψώθη, ὁρᾷς, φησι, μείλα τὸ πάθος μισθὸν ἐλάβεν τὴν ὑψώ-

urged the Father raising the Son from the dead *.

The gospels were thought to furnish the strongest arguments for the simple humanity of Christ; and this was urged with the more force, as it was acknowledged by the orthodox, that the three first gospels did not teach his divinity. But the ancient unitarians brought as many arguments from the gospel of John, as from any of the others.

We learn from Epiphanius, that Theodotus urged, Luke i. 35. *The spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee*; arguing that he did not enter into her, as the orthodox supposed †; and, John viii. 40. *Ye seek to kill me, a MAN who told you the truth ‡*. Austin says, that the Sabellians

σιν. Εἰ τοίνυν μέλα τὸν σαυρον ὑψώθη, ὡς ὑμεῖς φάτε, διὰ τί ὁ βαπτιστὴς Ἰωάννης πρὸ τῆς πάσης, πρὸ τῆς σαυρου ἐλέγεν. Ser. 4. Opera, vol. 6. p. 33.

* Ἀλλ' ἐπιπιδῶσιν οἱ αἰρετικοὶ λεγοντες, ἰδὲ ὁ πατήρ ἐγείρει τὸν υἱόν. Chrysostom in Gal. 1. Opera, vol. 10. p. 965.

† Εἶλα, φησι, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐφη τῇ Μαρίας, πνεῦμα κυρίῳ ἐπελευσέσθαι ἐπὶ σε, καὶ ἐκ εἵπτε πνεῦμα κυρίῳ γενησέσθαι ἐν σοί. Hær. 54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 465.

‡ Καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῆς συσάδελφοι θεοδόξιοι, φίλον ἀνδρῶπον φασκοντες εἶναι τὸν χριστόν, καὶ ἐκ σπερματὸς ἀνδρός γεγενησθαι. εἶλ' εἰς κακὴν ἐαυτῆς ἀπολογίαν ὅσαπερ χρησίμῃ εὖρεν, ἐκ ἀγνῶς οἰομεν, ἀλλὰ

urged, John vii. 6. *My doctrine is not mine* *. Basil's enemies quoted against him John vi. 57. *I live by the Father* †.

It is remarkable enough, that both Chrysostom and Theophylact blame Paulus Samosatensis for making a pause before the words, *Marvel not at this*, John v. 27. as if they would connect them with the account of God's giving all judgment to the Son ‡. For all

αλλα προφασει της εαυτης παρεκλήσεως ταυτα εαυτω επιστρωσεων συνη-
γαγεν. ολι φησιν, ο κυριος εφη· νυν δε ζητει με αποκλειναι ανθρωπον, ος
την αληθειαν υμιν λελαληκα. ορας φησιν, ολι ανθρωπος εστιν. Hæc.
54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 463.

* Utique si tua doctrina non est tua, O domine, cujus est nisi alius sit cujus sit? Quod dixisti, Sabelliani non intelligunt: non enim trinitatem viderunt, sed sui cordis errorem secuti sunt. Nos cultores trinitatis et unitatis patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et unius dei, intelligimus de doctrina Christi, quomodo non est ejus. In John, Tr. 29. cap. 7. Opera, vol. 9 p. 246.

† Τα δε ρηματα της θειας γραφης, απερ λαμβανοντες οι ανηκειμε-
νοι και διασρεφοντες προς την οικειαν συνειδησιν εις καθαιρεσιν της δοξης
τα μονογενες ημιν προσφερουσιν, εως εξελασομεν, κατα το δυνατον ημιν
αντιπισσοντες αυτα. και πρωτον ημιν προειδεδω το, εγω ζω δια τον
πατερα. τειλο γαρ εστιν εν των βελων των εις θρανον πεμπομενων υπο
των ασεβων αυτω κεχρημενων. Epist. 141. Opera, vol. 3.
p. 166.

‡ Χρη δε γνωσκειν οτι Παυλος ο Σαμοσατευς ψιλον ανθρωπον δογ-
ματιζων τον κυριον εως ανεγνωσχε τειλο το χωριον, και εξεστιαν εδωκεν

our printed bibles are now divided, as Paulus Samosatensis and his followers had pointed the passage; and the punctuation received by Chrysostom and Theophylact is followed by no person.

Epiphanius says that Theodotus argued from Acts ii. 22. where Peter calls Christ *a man approved of God* *. And indeed it was acknowledged by the orthodox, that, in all the period to which the history of Luke extends, the apostles did not openly preach such offensive doctrines as those of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.

The unitarians found a variety of solid arguments in the *apostolical epistles*. There is hardly any text of which the trinitarians avail themselves more than Phil. ii. 6. *Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal to God*. But even this text the ancient unitarians thought favourable to themselves. Epiphanius says, the here-

αὐτῷ καὶ κριστῶν ποιεῖν οἷοι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἀνεγινώσκετο, μὴ θαυμάζειν τελεῖ. In John. cap. 5. vol. 1. p. 632. See Chrysostom, vol. 8. p. 201.

* Ἀλλὰ, φησιν, εἶπον οἱ ἀποστολοὶ, ἀνδρὰ ἀποδοδεύμενον εἰς ὑμᾶς σημεῖοις καὶ τερασι καὶ ἐκ εἰπόντων θεὸν ἀποδοδεύμενον. Hæg. 54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 467.

tics avail themselves of this text, “as if it
 “meant that Christ would not by robbery
 “make himself equal to God*.” i. e. it
 would have been robbery if he had done so.
 Chrysostom also says, that the Arians prove
 that Christ is not God from this text, say-
 ing, that Christ being in the form of God,
 did not seize upon an equality with God ;
 εκ ηρπασε † ?

Lardner observes that Origen understood
 this text as expressive of the humanity of
 Christ ‡, and that it seems to have been so
 understood in an epistle from the churches
 of Vienna and Lyons, they supposing the
 apostle to have meant that to be *equal*, or *like*
to God, Christ did not think a thing to be
 caught at §.

Theophylact, commenting on Eph. iv. 6.
One God, and Father of all, who is above all,

* Ου γαρ ειπεν, εκ ηδελησε γενεσθαι ισος θεω δι αρπαγμα. αλλ’
 εκ αρπαγμων ηγησαιο ειναι ισα θεω, το θεον ειναι φυσει, οτι ην. An-
 coratus, sect. 45. Opera, vol. 2. p. 50.

† Αλλα τις ο σοφος αυτων λογος, κη μην τεταυλιον δεικνυσι, φησι.
 ειπε γαρ οτι εν μορφη θεε υπαρχων, εκ ηρπασε το ειναι ισα θεω.
 κη μην ει ην θεος, πως ειχεν αρπασαι. In Phil. 2. Opera, vol. 10.
 p. 1240.

‡ Credibility, vol. 3. p. 399.

§ Ibid. vol. 1. p. 339.

and through all, and in you all, observes that the heretics thought that the preposition *δια* (*through*) was peculiar to the Son, and *εν* (*in*) to the Spirit; both implying inferiority; whereas he says they are now both applied to the Father*.”

In Coll. i. 15. Christ is called the *first born of every creature*. On this Marcellus said, “How could he who existed always
“be the first-born of any thing; but *the*
“*first new man*, in whom God would that
“all things should be collected; the holy
“scriptures calling him the first-born of
“the creation†.” Cyril of Alexandria, also says, “They continually urge the more
“simple with the word *first-born* ‡.”

* Σημειωσαι δὲ οἱ οἱ μὲν αἱρετικοὶ τὴν, *δια*, προθεσιν αποκληρονομήσαι τὸν υἱόν, καὶ τὴν, *εν*, τῷ πνεύματι, ὡς ἐλαττώσιν εἰσαγάσαν. νυν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ εὐρισκόναι προσκειμεναι. καὶ ἀρα ἐλαττώσεως. Vol. 2. p. 533.

† Πῶς γὰρ δύνασθαι, τὸν αἰετοῦ, πρωτότοκον εἶναι τινος, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβέλθη ὁ θεός. τὸν αἰετοῦ γράφει πρωτότοκον πάσης ὀνομαζέσθαι κτίσεως. Euseb. contra Marcellum, lib. 2. p. 44.

‡ Semper insipienter dicunt nomen primogenitus simplicioribus objicientes. De Trinitate, lib. 4. Opera, vol. 2. p. 415.

But the two decisive texts in proof of the unity of God, and the proper humanity of Christ, in this epistle, are the following : Eph. iv. 5. *One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all* ; which was urged, as Eusebius informs us, by Marcellus* ; and 1 Tim. ii. 5. *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus* ; which was pleaded by the same†. This was also alledged by Photinus‡.

* Και παλιν ειναι τον πατερα [και] τον υιον επιδειξει πειρωμενος εγω γραφει . αυλος γαρ ομολογει λεγων, εν εμοι ο πατηρ, καγω εν τω πατρι . οτι δε τειο εχ απλως εδε ασκοπως ειρηκε, δηλον [αν] και αφ' ειρας αποστολικης ρησεως . εις γαρ ο, ειπων, κυριος, μια πιστις, εν βαπτισμα, εις θεος εφη, κη πατηρ, ο επι παντων κη δια παντων, κη εν πασι Ec. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 131.

* Νυν αυλον συκοφαντει. ως ψιλον ανθρωπον λεγοντα ειναι τον χριστον, προφανως καλα-ψευδομενος, εν τε οis ειρηκε, κη εν οis εξης επαγει αυδις περι αυτου λεγων . αλλ' ο προειρημενος, βραχεα των αγιων προφητων φροντισας, ως απορηλον τινα κη λανθανεσαν τε αποστολα θεολογιαν εξηγαμενος, εις θεος εφη, εις κη μεσσης θες κη ανθρωπων, ανθρωπος Ιησους χριστος. Euseb. Con. Marcellum, lib. 1. p. 28.

† Hoc si timemus, deileamus in apostolo quod dictum est : mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, quia ad auctoritatem hæresis suæ Photinus hoc uitur : et non legatur a nobis, quia ab illo male intelligatur. Hil. Ad Arianos, Opera, p. 392.

If my readers only compare these unitarian interpretations of scripture with those made by the trinitarians, in a former part of the work, he must be sensible, without any assistance from me, how infinitely more natural these are than those. 'The wonder is, that any other sense should ever have been put upon them. The history, however, that I have given of the rise of the doctrine of the trinity, solves this difficulty, and shows the necessity the trinitarians were under of wresting the scriptures so miserably as they did.

Παλιν δὲ προφασίζεσθαι λέγων, ὅτι εἶπεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀποστόλος, ὅτι μεσσίης θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπων χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. Epiphanius, Hær. 54. Opera, vol. 1. p. 467.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R XIX.

*Of the Practice of the Unitarians with respect
to Baptism.*

THE form of baptism, supposed to be prescribed in the gospel of Matthew, viz. *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, and the *trine immersion*, which was used along with it, contributed very much to establish the doctrine of the trinity. It was natural enough, therefore, for the unitarians to oppose this superstition by discontinuing the practice; though it is probable that the custom itself was an innovation. That it was not in use from the beginning, is pretty evident from there being no trace of it in the New Testament, though we are not able to say at what time it began. However, that many persons did not baptize in this manner, before, as well as after, the council of Nice, is evident from the decrees of that council, and other proceedings

ceedings of a similar nature ; and this was the foundation of the different treatment of those who were called heretics, when they returned into the bosom of the church. For if they had been baptized in the usual form, their baptism was deemed to be *valid*, how heretical soever the church had been in which they had received it ; but if they had not been baptized in that particular form, it was decreed that they should be re-baptized.

In what manner the unitarians, who disapproved of the common form, *did* baptize their catechumens, does not clearly appear. But it should seem that some of them baptized *in the name of Christ only*, and others *into the death of Christ*, which they probably adopted from that expression of the apostle Paul. It appears from Basil, that “ some held that it was sufficient to “ baptize in the name of Christ*.” And the canons which are ascribed to the apostles ordered that “ if any bishop did “ not use trine immersion, but baptized

* Προς τας λαοφάνιας εξάρκειν ὃ μόνον το εἰς τον κυριον βαπτισμα.
De Sp. S. cap. 12. Opera, vol. 2. p. 315.

“ only

“ only into the death of Christ, he should
“ be depofed*.”

The Eunomians, Theodoret fays, baptized in this form, and alfo did not immerfe the whole body, but only applied the water to certain parts of it †.

According to Athanasius, all the unitarians did not object to the common form of baptifm ; for, he fays, both the Manicheans and Paulus Samofatenfis baptized in the common form ‡. But they muft in general have difliked that form ; becaufe it was decreed at the council of Nice, that the Paulianifts, returning to the church, fhould be rebaptized §. Auftin alfo fays, that “ the

* Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὴ τρία βαπτισμὰ μ.α; μὴ-
σεως ἐπίτελεσει, ἀλλὰ ἐν βαπτισμῷ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου δίδμενον,
καθαίρεισθω. Zonaras, p. 26. Canon 50.

† Μὴ χρῆναι λεγὼν τρεῖς καταδυεῖν τὸν βαπτίζομενον, μὴ δὲ ποιεῖσθαι
τὴν τῆς τριάδος ἐπικλήσιν. ἀλλ’ ἀπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ
χριστοῦ. καὶ βαπτίζοντες δὲ μέχρι τῶν γαστρῶν τῷ ὕδατι δυνάμι, τοῖς δὲ
ἄλλοις μορίοις τῆς σώματος ὡς ἐναγέσι προσφέρειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπαγορεύου-
σιν. Hær. Fab. lib. 4. Opera, vol. 4. p. 356. Ed. Hæke.

‡ Οὕτω Μανιχαῖοι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ οἱ τῆς Σαμοσατίας μαθηταί, τὰ
ἐνομὰ λεγόντες, ἔθεν ἥτιον εἰσιν αἱρέτικοι. Contra Arianos, Or.
3. Opera, vol. 1. p. 413.

§ Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανιστῶν εἶτα προτρυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλη-
σίᾳ ὅρος ἐκτεθεῖται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπαιτοῦ. Canon 19.
Zonaras, p. 64.

“ Paulians

“ Paulians were ordered to be rebaptized
 “ by the council of Nice; from which,” he
 says, “ it is evident, that they did not ob-
 “ serve the rule of baptism, which many
 “ heretics, though they left the catholic
 “ church, did *.” Pope Innocent also
 would not receive the Paulianists without
 baptizing, “ because they did not baptize
 “ in the name of the Father, the Son, and
 “ the Spirit, as the Novatians did †.”

* Istos sane Paulianos baptizandos esse in ecclesia catho-
 lica Nicæno concilio constitutum est. Unde credendum est
 eos regulam baptismatis non tenere, quam secum multi
 hæretici cum de catholica discederent abstulerunt, eamque
 custodiunt. Catalogus Hær. Opera, vol. 6. p. 30.

† Unde prædictus papa Innocentius, cum de duabus
 hæresibus Paulianistis videlicet, et Novatianistis commu-
 niter disputaret, cur a Paulianistis venientes baptizandos
 esse decerneret, a Novatianis autem funditus prohiberet,
 causam his reddidit verbis, dicens: quia Paulianistæ, in-
 quit, in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti minime
 baptizantur, nec apud istos, videlicet Novatianos, de uni-
 tate patris et filii, et spiritus sancti quæstio aliquando mo-
 ta est. Damiani Epist. cap. 23. Bib. pat. App. p. 634.

Paulianistæ in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti
 minime baptizabant. At Novatiani iisdem nominibus
 tremendis vinerandisque baptizant, nec apud ipsos de uni-
 tate potestatis divinæ, hoc est et patris, et filii, et spiritus
 sancti, aliquando quæstio commota est. Epist. P. Inno-
 centie ad Macedoniæ Episcopos, Apud Binnii Concilia,
 vol. 1. p. 620.

At

At a council held at Carthage, in 419, the Paulianists were ordered to be rebaptized*. And at the council of Constantinople, the Montanists, Eunomians, and Sabellians, were all ordered, after much preparation, in which exorcism was not omitted, to be rebaptized when they returned to the catholic church†. This seems to show, that the unitarians in general, and also the most zealous Arians, refused to make use of the common form of baptism; and it is probable that they continued to do so till a very late period, if, indeed, they ever dropped it at all. For Damascenus, who wrote in the eighth cen-

* De Paulianistis refugientibus ad ecclesiam catholicam definitio prolata est rebaptizare omnino. Binnii Concilia, vol. i. p. 726.

† Εὐνομιαντες μενοι τες εις μιαν καϊαδυσιν βαπτιζομεντες, και Μοντανιστας τες ενλαυδα λεγομεντες Φρυγας, και Σαβελλιανες τες μιοπατοριαν διδασκουσας, και ειςρα τινα χαλεπα ποιουσας, και τας αλλας πασας αιρεσεις (επειδη πολλοι εισιν ενλαυδα, μαλιστα δε απο της Γαλατων χωρας ερχομενοι) παλαις τες υπ αυτων θελοντας προσιδεσθαι, τη ορθοδοξια ως Ελληνας δεχομεθα, και την πρωτην ημεραν ποιουμεν αυτες χριστιανες, την δε δευτερην κατηχεμεντες, ειςα τη τριτη εξορκιζομεν αυτες μετὰ τς εμψυσαν τριτον εις το προσωπον και εις τα ωτα, και εως κατηχεμεν αυτες, και ποιουμεν χρονιζειν εις την εκκλησιαν. και ακροασθαι των γραφα και τοις αυτες βαπτιζομεν... Canon 7. Zonaras, p. 77.

tury,

tury, says, that “ they who had not been
 “ baptized into the holy trinity, ought to
 “ be re-baptized*.” It is to be hoped,
 that the unitarians of the present age will
 imitate their predecessors, by baptizing, as
 the apostles did, in *the name of Christ* only,
 without the invocation of the Father, Son,
 and Holy Ghost, or expressing what they
 apprehend to be the real meaning of that
 phraseology.

* At qui in sanctam trinitatem minime baptizati sunt,
 hi denuo baptizentur necesse est. *Orthod. Fid. lib. 3.*
cap. 10. p. 446.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



